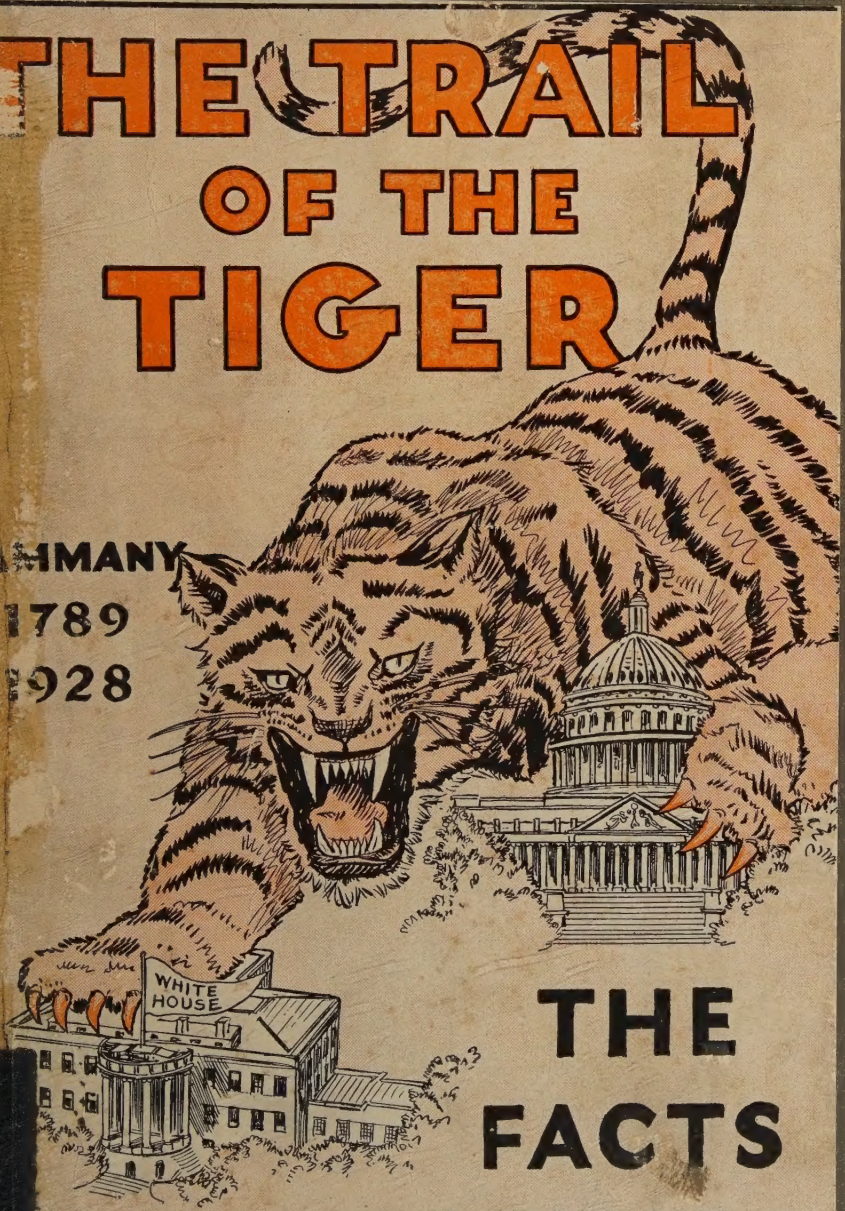
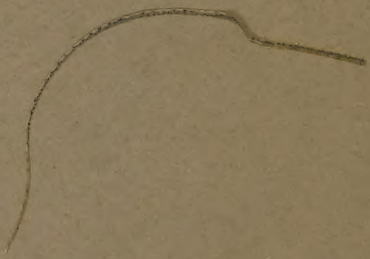
THE TRAIL OF THE TIGER

TAMMANY
1789
1928



THE FACTS FROM THE RECORDS



THE TRAIL OF THE TIGER

"IN MY MIND'S EYE"

GHOST OF—"I could a tale unfold, whose lightest word
Would harrow up thy soul; freeze thy young blood;
Make thy two eyes, like stars, start from their spheres;
Thy knotted and combined locks to part,
And each particular hair to stand on end,
Like quills upon the fretful porcupine."—SHAKESPEARE.

THE TRAIL
of the
TIGER

being

AN ACCOUNT OF TAMMANY FROM 1789; THE SOCIETY OF ST. TAMMANY, OR COLUMBIAN ORDER; TAMMANY HALL; THE ORGANIZATION; AND THE SWAY OF THE BOSSES

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its behavior after it has obtained that control.

It is intended also to give to the inquiring mind the background of Tammany. The author obtained the data from the files of New York newspapers, reports and records of specially appointed state legislative committees and works of reference of the various periods covered.

The illustrations are cartoons of two widely separated periods. Those of Thomas Nast were first printed in *Harper's Weekly* in the days of "Boss" Tweed and in conjunction with the editorials and articles in the New York *Times* of that day were responsible for the exposure of the "Tweed Ring." In fact, Nast's cartoons (copies of which appear in this work) were so strong and aroused such interest, that a banker was sent to offer the cartoonist $500,000 if he would "drop this Ring business" and take a vacation abroad. Nast refused. In the New York *Times'* own story of the Tweed Ring will be found the offer by Tweed's controller of a check for $5,000,000 to Mr. Jones to suppress the evidence of Tweed's thieving of millions of dollars from the city treasury. It was also refused and the Tweed explosion followed. The other copyright illustrations are current cartoons drawn for the New York *Herald-Tribune* by "Ding" (J. N. Darling) since June 1928, and reproduced in this work by courtesy of the New York *Herald-Tribune*. A. F.

CONTENTS

		PAGE
	PREFACE	v
CHAPTER		
I.	EARLY HISTORY OF TAMMANY	13
II.	FERNANDO WOOD	42
III.	WILLIAM MARCY TWEED	66
IV.	GROSS ELECTION FRAUDS	131
V.	HONEST JOHN KELLY	149
VI.	RICHARD W. CROKER	161
VII.	THE LEXOW COMMITTEE REPORT	203
VIII.	RULE BY CABLE	269
IX.	CHARLES FRANCIS MURPHY	275
X.	EVENTS OF 1928	291

ILLUSTRATIONS

Reproductions of some of the famous Thomas Nast cartoons of Tweed's time appear throughout this book. The cartoons of to-day are by "Ding" of the New York *Herald-Tribune* and are reproduced by their courtesy.

EARLY HISTORY OF TAMMANY

CHAPTER I

EARLY HISTORY OF TAMMANY

On March 4, 1789, George Washington stood in front of the old Federal Hall at Wall and Nassau Streets, New York City, and swore to uphold, as first President of the United States, the recently ratified Constitution of his country.

A little later in that historic year another inauguration took place in the same neighborhood. A newly formed society moved into quarters in nearby Broad Street and began to solicit membership in the pleasing names of "the smile of charity, the chain of friendship and the flame of liberty; and, in general, whatever may tend to perpetuate the love of freedom or the political advantages of this country."

The society was "The Society of St. Tammany, or Columbian Order"; and so ardently did it undertake immediate pursuit of its charitable, friendly and patriotic course that seven years later, when about to retire from his distinguished office, President Washington felt called upon to devote a por-

tion of his Farewell Address to deploring its existence.

To-day the Society of Tammany, or its twin, Tammany Hall, or just plain Tammany, or "the organization with a history of 139 years of similar denunciation and much more vigorous attack; of investigation and inquiry; of scandal and graft and exposure—even of temporary set-back—still is spoken of authoritatively as the most powerful political institution in America. Certainly it is the oldest, strongest and best organized; assuredly it is the most notorious.

The Tammany Society owes its origin to a worthy enough conception. Fundamentally its organization was a protest against class distinction in the new republic; a move for preservation of those rights of common freedom for which the Revolution had been fought but which, in those early post-war days, with the infant government controlled by wealth and aristocracy, seemed far from permanent realization. Money and family were bent on claiming a place not only in the social but in the political life of the United States of America which they were equally determined to deny to poverty and lowly birth.

Aristocratic associations, closely class-restricted, were numerous, and best known of them was the Society of the Cincinnati. It was as a gesture aimed

directly at the Cincinnati that "The Society of St. Tammany; or Columbian Order," came into existence. The Cincinnati had been formed to perpetuate in the bonds of an association the friendships of the officers of the Continental Army and to "extend the most substantial acts of beneficence towards those officers and their families who may be under the necessity of receiving it." It was to continue forever through membership devolving by inheritance upon the eldest son of each member.

The idea, doubtless well-meant and innocent enough, found little favor with the mass of the people. To them the Cincinnati, with its elaborate jeweled insignia, its foreign title and its aristocratic exclusiveness smacked entirely too much of potential menace. Would the affiliated officers content themselves merely with preserving the memories of patriotic and loyal service in the field or would they, representing as they did every prominent family throughout the erstwhile Colonies, set themselves to perpetuate a powerful body devoted strictly to the interests of the classes and the recognition of hereditary distinction?

William Mooney, an ex-enlisted man of the Revolutionary Army, plied his trade as an upholsterer in New York City for six years after the formation of the Society of the Cincinnati and, along with many fellow patriots, pondered these and

other perplexing problems as he tacked and sewed and stuffed. At last he hit upon the answer. The thing to do, he decided, was to fight fire with fire, to combat the pretensions of aristocracy with the solid substance of democracy—in short, to form a rival society.

Apparently a bit fond himself—for a late rifle-bearer in the forces of the Continental Congress—of a certain amount of pomp and panoply, Mooney was fairly well-known in his community as a practicing patriot, a willing and even eager participant in such public demonstrations as rallies, meetings and parades. Thus, when the idea of an association of commoners began to grow upon him, he was in a position to present its merits from the heights of sufficient prestige to assure him listeners and, shortly, sufficient followers. On May 12, 1789, a little over two months after George Washington had assumed the Presidency and the United States of America had begun to function under its Constitution, the Society of St. Tammany, or Columbian Order, was founded.

The name was shrewdly chosen with an eye to capitalizing both patriotic and historical prestige and has stood unchanged for nearly a century and a half although there is little in the society's ritual, activities or celebrations to-day reminiscent either of St. Tammany or of Christopher Columbus.

Formal observance by the society of the anniversary of the discovery of America, and of May 12, not only the day of foundation but "Saint's Day" of the illustrious Tammany, languished and died compara-

THE DEAD LOCK—AND NOW THE DEMOCRATIC TIGER HAS LOST HIS HEAD.

tively early in its career. Of the three patriotic and historical annual ceremonials with which the society at first concerned itself, only one survives. Each year, on July 4, it is Tammany's proud and public boast that proper commemoration of the anniversary of American Independence never has been neglected.

The advantage of linking "Columbian Order" to a patriotic organization, and even to a benevolent, charitable and social one, is, of course, undoubted. But in this age the significance of "St. Tammany" in that connection needs some explanation.

Tammany was the famous, almost legendary, chief of a tribe of Delaware Indians headquartered near what is now Doylestown, Pa., a few miles north of Philadelphia. Tradition has it that he was the first Indian sachem to greet William Penn when the Quaker arrived in this country in 1682 and tradition further makes of him the hero in such extraordinary exploits, the possessor of such magnificent physical and mental attributes and a figure of such all-round prowess as to mark him not only as a close relative of that other legendary American man of might, Paul Bunyan, but at least a lineal descendant of the great Solomon.

He fought terrific personal battles, invented various aboriginal labor-saving devices, detected the nourishing and curative worth of sundry herbs and

plants and withal ruled his people so wisely and so well that the splendid name of Tammany became synonymous throughout the land with good, sage and unselfish works.

Just when the illustrious chieftain attained canonization is uncertain, but it is a matter of record that Saint Tammany, with a regular name day and all, was well known in Philadelphia in 1771 and within two years had become the patron saint of all the colony established by his old friend, William Penn. Soon patriotic societies calling themselves Sons of St. Tammany began to appear and, with the start of the Revolution, the Pennsylvania troops went forth to battle under the beneficent protection of the same gentle spirit.

At the close of the War the Sons of St. Tammany disbanded, even as the Society of the Cincinnati began, but the memory of the patriotic glory of the name was not lost and it was natural that it should occur readily to William Mooney and his associates after only six years. It was natural, too, that in establishing posts and rituals within the new organization the founders should revert to the nomenclature of sachems and warriors and hunters and even, in the early days, to ceremonial dress of buckskins, feathers and war-paint. There was doubtless some satisfaction, besides, in rebuking the aristocratic affectations and foreign pretensions of

the Cincinnati and similar associations by adopting a good, 100 per cent American saint and unadulterated early American customs.

The sachems, then as now, were thirteen in number, one for each of the original colonies, presided over by a Grand Sachem and presiding over, as a sort of board of directors, the lowlier warriors and hunters. The place of meeting was called The Wigwam, and still is, although the designations of lesser members of the society have been merged by common usage into the more general classification of simple "braves."

Although there is record that the incomparable Tammany, while still an Indian chief, commended to one of the tribes into which he, in his wisdom, divided his people, the example of the tiger as worthy of emulation, that action is not accepted as the origin of the present famous symbol of Tammany Hall. Selection of the fiercely soft-stepping jungle marauder for this doubtful honor did not come until long after the society's organization, even though William Mooney, who was, of course, the first Grand Sachem, faintly distinguished himself as early as 1809 by being ousted from his office as superintendent of the New York City Almshouse for getting caught in one of the first Tammany forays on the public treasury of which there is record.

It was not until the late '60's, when William Marcy Tweed, "Boss" Tweed of infamous memory and major arc in the equally infamous Tweed Ring, was busily and happily piling up the blackest tower on all the dark edifice of Tammany history, that the figure of the striped, predatory beast became the accepted trademark of the cohorts of the Wigwam. Then Thomas Nast, drawing for "Harper's Weekly" the anti-Tweed cartoons which were to win him a place as one of the greatest of American political caricaturists, took his cue from the design ornamenting the engine of a fire company of which Tweed had been foreman and selected the tiger as a fitting symbol of the ruthless viciousness with which Tammany and Tweed preyed upon the people and the purse of the City of New York. The analogy became popular, so much so that Tammany Hall, with typical boldness, adopted and retained the symbol as its own.

Of the first ten years of Tammany's existence little or no record survives of the political activities which so quickly earned the disapprobation of President Washington and other far-seeing patriots. On the contrary, the principal remembered event of this period was one that was of distinct service to Washington's administration. The Creek Indians in Georgia and Florida were causing trouble based mainly on land disputes. The Government wanted

to settle the matter as amicably as possible, and some one conceived the idea of inviting a delegation of Creeks to visit New York on the theory that the wonders of the metropolis would so impress the visitors as to make them realize the futility of further resistance to the white man.

Colonel Marinus Willett, late of the Continental Army and a member of the Society of St. Tammany, was despatched as emissary and in July, 1790, returned to New York with Colonel Alexander McGillivray, half-breed chief of the dissentients, and more than a score of Creek warriors. The Sachems, warriors and hunters of Tammany welcomed the visiting red men in fitting style and with them smoked the pipe of peace to such good purpose that only a few days in New York were required to convince Chief McGillivray and the other representatives of the Creek nation of the true brotherhood that lies beneath the painted skin. Secretary of War Knox and Colonel McGillivray signed a treaty that provided for mutually satisfactory boundaries and the Indians trekked southward to dwell in peace.

The 300th anniversary of the discovery of America was the next outstanding activity to engage the attention of the society which, on Oct. 12, 1792, unveiled a monument to Columbus at a celebration which was elaborate and enthusiastic. It was, in

fact, the attractions of the opportunity to participate in such occasions as these, coupled with the other advantages for social intercourse which membership in the Tammany Society uniquely afforded at that time, which accounted in the main for the rapidity with which the society grew. There were, in New York City at the end of the Eighteenth Century, virtually no permanent organizations devoted to fostering the social spirit and the few that did exist were the carefully guarded resorts of the aristocrats alone. The tradesman and the workingman found the open amenities of the Tammany Society a boon and, as is natural when men foregather on the same social and economic level, politics became one of the chief topics of discussion.

Tammany was twenty-two years old, and had been for six years incorporated under a charter from the State of New York "the better to carry into effect the benevolent purpose of affording relief to the indigent and distressed" before enough money had seeped through the hands of the Sachems and Grand Sachems into the society's treasury to permit the building of the first Wigwam that was really Tammany's own. This was an imposing five-story structure at Frankfort and Nassau Streets officially christened the "Tammany Hotel." One large room was set aside as a meeting-place for the

society and the rest of the building turned over to hotel purposes.

Before this Tammany's meetings were held, perforce, where room could be found for them, and that meant the public houses. Thus much of the discussion, political and otherwise, took place over the glasses and the tankards and thus early was Tammany's link established with the "poor man's club" which for more than a century and a quarter as tavern, "pub" and saloon comprised the strongest vertebra in its backbone. So it was, too, that while it was not until 1811 that Tammany really had a home of its own, the opening of the century found the society well established in the position it has maintained almost uninterruptedly since—that of the most powerful political organization in New York City.

The Presidential election of 1800 was a close and stirring one and, for the Society of St. Tammany, as well as for American Democracy in general, an important one. It was in that year that the society, under the tutelage of Aaron Burr, came to know the weight a strictly local political machine, especially in a city like New York, may bear in a national campaign. In teaching the lesson Burr enhanced the security of his rather unenviable place in American history by earning the undisputed title of the first real leader of Tammany Hall.

Presidential electors at that time were chosen by the Legislatures of the various states and it so chanced that the balance of power lay with New York State. It was necessary that Burr, who was a national candidate, should control the Legislature and he set about to do it. With the aid of his friend, Matthew L. Davis, who then was a Tammany Sachem and four years later was Burr's second when he shot and killed Alexander Hamilton in their famous and tragic duel on the Heights of Weehawken, he instituted those methods of getting out the vote which, though subjected from time to time to variations and improvements, have remained the fundamentals of the Tammany system ever since. Potential voters—a man needed to own a certain amount of property before he was entitled to the privilege of franchise—were interviewed, entertained and "persuaded," and finally, as a last precaution, accompanied to their polling places by an escort charged with making sure that the vote really was cast "right." Then, as for many years thereafter, the lack of a secret ballot created a condition which lent itself readily to these basic Tammany tactics. Voting tickets were printed and distributed at the expense of the interested parties, representatives of which met each voter outside the polls and supplied him with one or another form of ballot according to his demand. Ready check could

be had on the political proclivities of any man who ventured to express them by means of his vote.

Aaron Burr emerged from the election as Vice-President of the United States and Thomas Jefferson, who had taken no active part in Tammany's activities during the campaign but who may be assumed to have watched them with something less than detached interest, was elected President. Tammany was not slow to seek recognition for its services. Soon after Jefferson's inauguration Sachem Davis journeyed to Washington and delicately brought to the attention of the President the outstanding services of his fellow Sachems, warriors and hunters to the cause. If Tammany had not encompassed the election of a favorable Legislature in its state, and so swung New York to the support of the Democratic ticket, it was doubtful, he intimated, if Mr. Jefferson would have been elected. Jefferson, the story goes, heard his visitor through and then, snatching a fly from the table, invited Mr. Davis to consider the insignificance of any part of the captive's body in relation to any other part. The Tammany Sachem departed, foiled and disgruntled and, one imagines, returned to New York to convince easily his brother braves that henceforth profit lay in cultivating the lush fields nearer home.

By this time, of course, Tammany's membership was exceedingly well represented in the official fam-

ily of the City of New York and so it quickly became quite natural that the society also found itself well represented when the traditionally ugly head of civic scandal began to be uplifted here and there. Earliest of these recorded instances concerns one Benjamin Romaine, stalwart follower of St. Tammany, who found himself in 1806 separated from his lucrative office as City Comptroller when it was discovered he was carrying under his own name a parcel of valuable property for which he had had the nicety not to trouble the city by paying. In 1807 another Sachem of the Tammany Society, who was an inspector of bread for the city, was so hurt when his subordinates resented his suggestion that they turn over one-third of their fees to him that he resigned. Soon followed the case of William Mooney, first Grand Sachem of the order, who, as almshouse superintendent on a salary of $1,000 a year, and an allowance of half that sum for expenses managed to extract from the city treasury in one year $4,000 for his salary and $1,000 expense allowance. He was removed for malfeasance in office after an investigation by a committee of the Common Council.

In other respects besides grafting—and sometimes getting caught at it—Tammany in the early part of the Nineteenth Century was busy laying the foundation for the reputation it was long to enjoy

as a thoroughly corrupt organization. Its celebrations of St. Tammany's Day and of the Fourth of July were growing wilder and wilder, extending often into all-night public orgies in which the Indian costumes of the revelers provided adequate safeguard against recognition—if there were any among the participants who would have shrunk therefrom. After the Independence Day celebration of 1809 a newspaper of the period complained:

"It is painful to observe the ridicule which is annually thrown upon this glorious event by some semi-barbarians calling themselves the Tammany Society. Instead of commemorating the birth of the nation with that manliness and dignity which the occasion calls for and inspires, we see them with pain and disgust daubing their faces with paint, crowding their heavy heads with feathers; representing, as they term it, the genius of the nation in the person of some one who has no genius, and playing such tricks and exhibiting such figures as showmen would despise and be ashamed of. We derive, however, from the late commemoration a consolation of no trifling magnitude; we see that the Society is rapidly diminishing, and that the more civilized of the savages are beginning to associate with tamed and tutored men."

This use and abuse of Tammany's Indian trappings proved, however, to be short-lived, for with

the advent of the War of 1812, which Tammany applauded vigorously, Indian association with the British rendered everything pertaining to the noble red man so offensive to the populace that the Society, although not without loud protest from many of its older members, was compelled to abandon them.

The compulsory forsaking of this outward display, originally designed to impress the simon-pure patriotism of the society upon all beholders, was not as drastic a step as the stand-patters who opposed it had tried to make their fellow members believe. Already the rock of 100 per cent Americans on which the Society of St. Tammany, or Columbian Order, had been founded—its Constitution provided that "No person shall be eligible to the office of Sachem unless a native of this Country" —was crumbling. A year or two before an Irish-Catholic named Patrick McKay had been made the Tammany candidate for the Assembly, the first man of his race and creed to be permitted to run for any office on a Tammany ticket. More important, the steadily increasing influx of foreign population already was causing the astute Tammany leaders, acutely aware of the power that lies in strength of numbers, to cast covetous eyes on this new potential material. In a comparatively short space of time, as the immigrants, particularly those fleeing from

the poverty and political turmoil of Ireland, continued to pour into New York in their thousands, Tammany not only removed its restrictions barring foreigners from its ranks but provided for their rapid naturalization and, through the Constitutional Convention of 1821, which was Tammany-controlled, brought about the manhood suffrage amendment which extended the right to vote to every white man in New York State, regardless of property ownership limitations.

Ostensibly, as it ever has—within recent months (1928), its leader naïvely told a Senate Investigating Committee it was solely a social and benevolent organization—Tammany was industriously pursuing its "benevolent and charitable" way under its newly granted charter when its path was crossed by its first great political foe and, in the fight that followed, the society was forced to reveal more of its true character than it ever had before. The foeman was the great De Witt Clinton, perhaps the outstanding actor on the political stage in New York State through all the first quarter of the Nineteenth Century.

Clinton had been an early member of the Tammany Society and one of its officers, but his rivalry with Aaron Burr caused him to separate from the society during the period of Burr's short-lived ascendency. Subsequently he became Mayor of New

York City by appointment of the State authorities, as was then the practice, and a member of the State Senate, although Tammany fought him at every turn. And while the enmity of the society was not strong enough to keep Clinton from these comparatively minor offices, it did suffice to wreck whatever chances he may have had to become President of the United States, a post on which he had his ambitious eye and eventually, for a time at least, to deprive him of all power in the State.

Clinton lost his seat in the Senate in 1811, and seemed to be on the way to political oblivion when the death of the Lieutenant Governor afforded him a temporary respite. He ran for and, in spite of opposition from Tammany which went even to the extreme of violent rioting, was elected to the office. His triumph, however, was brief. In the following election Tammany was able to prevent not only Clinton's reëlection as Mayor but barred him from the gubernatorial nomination, which he sought, and even defeated his efforts to become the nominee to succeed himself as Lieutenant Governor.

Clinton retired to his Long Island farm but, although he had necessarily relinquished all public office he had not abandoned an idea which was destined, more than any other associated with his career, to make him known to posterity and even to become the stone on which he was to step from

enforced retirement back to public life. In his seclusion he renewed the agitation, first by letter and then more actively, for an artificial waterway across New York State. As his arguments in favor of the Erie Canal, "Clinton's Big Ditch," became more and more impressing both Clinton and his idea grew in popularity until finally the Democratic-Republican Party, the party of Tammany, in self-defense nominated De Witt Clinton for Governor and succeeded in electing him, although Tammany Hall itself opposed him to the last.

Tammany's fight with Clinton brought about one important development in the affairs of the society. Drawing a fine distinction between the Society of St. Tammany and Tammany Hall, a distinction which only the most loyal members of the society were able to maintain with straight faces during the following years, the leaders organized an out-and-out political body known as the General Committee of Tammany Hall. This committee, affiliated with the Democratic-Republican party, was composed of members elected by ward committees which, in turn, were hand-picked by the ward workers selected by the leaders of the Tammany Society. Proper make-up of the General Committee, and of the equally important finance committee thus was assured, and it was these committees who selected the candidates for public office whose nomi-

nations were ratified at "popular" meetings which, carefully managed by the chieftains, never were anything more than perfunctory. In general, with the exception that the ward committees are now assembly district associations, the general committee is now called the executive committee and is composed of an executive member, usually the district leader, from each assembly district, and the chairman of this executive committee, and not the Grand Sachem, is the political leader of the Hall, the political organization of Tammany remains the same to-day.

From that time on the smooth and powerful machine sped merrily on, and one by one new avenues of income and opportunities for corruption presented themselves. As early as 1838 it was publicly set forth that "$600,000 a year was collected from dives, gambling houses, unfortunate women of the streets and in extortions from prisoners in the Tombs and the police courts and even then it was referred to as an 'established custom.'"

In that same year came revelation of another "established custom" of Tammany that was long to endure. A weigher in the Customs service, who owed his job to Tammany, testified before a Congressional Investigating Committee that the fee for holding his $1,500 job was a $15 payment every election time. Another Customs employee, David S.

Lyon, deputy collector of the port, elaborated a little more:

"I have frequently been called upon to contribute to political objects while I was deputy collector, as an officer of the Custom House. The amount was from twenty to one hundred dollars. The tax was pro rata, according to salary. It bore a proportion of from one to six per cent. I frequently paid a part of the amount. When it was too high, and more than I could afford, I urged them to reduce it. In one instance, when I was assessed twenty dollars, Mr. Swartwout told the collector of the tax that ten dollars was enough for me to pay. For a few years back I have not paid anything to the general committee, because I could not afford to pay the amount assessed, and because I could not longer conscientiously sustain the party. The collectors of the Tammany Hall General Committee, one of whom was John Becker, called upon me several times. I believe that nearly all the officers of the Custom House, indoors and out, and the clerks, were similarly taxed, and generally paid what they were assessed. It was assessed by the General Committee of Tammany Hall, and for the support of the party denominated the Tammany Hall party. If the individual did not pay the amount he was taxed with, the collector would remark 'You will be reported to the General Committee,' and every-

HARPER'S WEEKLY.
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POLITICAL "CAPITAL."

THE people are in a very puzzled and despondent state of mind about the political situation, and have got beyond the point at which they look for the appearance of the ideal statesman exalting the purest motives with the highest ability. They can get the pure motives, and they can get the high ability; but somehow, owing in no matter what circumstances, to put a man who makes both into a leading place in the government is a work of such difficulty that most people have given it up as (for the present at least) a bad job, and are willing to content themselves with any man who, for whatever motive, will do good work. It so happens, too, that the work to be done at this moment is not work which calls either for the highest order of genius or the highest aspirations. A man may do it very well without being a Moses or a Washington—without, in short, being either a prophet or a hero. He has neither to lead a race out of captivity nor call a nation into existence. The task before the American politician of to-day is the simple and somewhat homely one of preventing public officers from stealing and dividing the public money, and of preventing the government from cheating its creditors; and when a man offers himself for this work, there is no general disposition to ask whether he is a statesman of the first rank, or whether his political judgment has always been sure or his voice been always heard on the right side. In fact, they go so far as to say that to make capital in this way is a good thing to do, and they wish all politicians to engage in it. They are ready to forbear all curious inquiries into the motives or antecedents of men who will undertake to put an end to cheating and stealing. In fact, the voters of the country are sticking notices up offering the highest offices in their gift, and "no questions asked," to any body who will bring in a few plunderers of the state. Mr TILDEN has achieved his present success simply owing to his having, before any body else of his class, understood the exact nature of the situation. He perceived sooner than his competitors that the time had come to stop preaching, and to begin making arrests and drawing up indictments. He now finds, and his competitors find, that his sentence has rendered him the highest service, and he enemies actually pay into his hands."—*The Nation*, October 7, 1875.

TWEEDLEDEE AND TILDEN DUM

BENJAMIN TWEED "If all the people want is to have somebody arrested, I'll have you plunderers convicted. You will be allowed to escape, nobody will be hurt; and then TILDEN will go to the White House, and I to Albany as Governor."

body well understood that proscription would follow. The collector of the General Committee had an alphabetical book, which contains the names of persons taxed and the amount each individual was required to pay."

The "Swartwout" referred to by the harried deputy was Samuel Swartwout, Tammany Collector of the Port of New York, and it was Collector Swartwout's activities in the preceding year, as well as those of William M. Price, also a Tammanyite, who had been United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York, that the Congressional committee was investigating. Swartwout, custodian of large Government funds, had absconded to the tune of $1,225,000 and had fled to Europe whither Price hastened soon after when an auditing of his office accounts showed a shortage of upwards of $70,000.

The same period threw a little light on another "established custom" of the charitable and benevolent members of the Society of St. Tammany. In 1834 New York City for the first time elected a Mayor by popular vote. C. W. Lawrence was the Tammany candidate, and interest in the election was high, for besides the local issues there was at stake endorsement of the policies of President Andrew Jackson who, as originator of the "spoils system," was particularly qualified to merit the approval and

support of the already notorious Wigwam. To assure this support Tammany sent strong-arm squads to the polling places with orders to see that none but Tammany men voted. In many sections of the city where Tammany dominance was unquestioned the mere threat of their presence was sufficient, and the vote was polled without trouble exactly as the General Committee had dictated that it should be. In others, however, particularly in the "Bloody Sixth" Ward, the opposing Whigs determined not to be overridden without a struggle and on the second day of the election, a scheduled three-day event, organized their opposition. Rioting ensued in which one man was killed, Mayor Gideon Lee and several city watchmen were injured, buildings and furniture were damaged and troops were called before the disorder was quelled. Lawrence, the Tammany candidate, was elected Mayor but the Whigs won control of the Common Council.

Leaders of Tammany now found themselves in the embarrassing position of rich men ostensibly leading the fight for the poor, and in leaping nimbly from one side of the fence to the other they managed to accumulate as vigorous foes among advocates of the rights of commoners as they ever had among their traditional enemies, the aristocrats. Most formidable of these was Michael Walsh, an Irish-born political agitator who founded a news-

paper called "The Subterranean" and who, in the course of a picturesque career, managed to attain election to the Assembly even though implacably hostile to Tammany Hall.

Walsh read himself out of any chance of Tammany preferment when, in 1841, with characteristic audacity, he delivered the following speech in Tammany Hall itself:

"I know perfectly well, and no man who knows anything about the matter will dare question the truth of the statement, that the delegates to nominating committees are chosen not by the electors of each ward, but generally by a few unprincipled blackguards, usually office-holders or office-seekers, who meet in the back room of some low groggery, where they place upon a ticket for the support of their fellow-citizens a number of wretches of their own moral caliber, whose characters and consciences have been so long buried that they have become putrid.

"The formal ceremony of electing these delegates is always a most ridiculous and insulting farce. 'A meeting of the Democratic electors of the ward' is called; a number of fellows who either hold or expect office go around amongst the lowest rum holes in the world, treat the 'setters,' in addition to which they give the ringleaders a few dollars apiece to insure the presence of their gangs.

"Every contractor brings a number of poor men whose spirits have been broken, and whose frames have been withered and bowed down by that worst form of slavery—the slavery of poverty and out of whose sorrowing sighs, sweat and blood this same bloated brute has distilled a fortune, and they are compelled, when at the meeting, by the wretchedness and degradation of their condition to respond with counterfeit sincerity, to each mandate of their labor's plunderer, even though it were to violate, stifle and trample upon a man who had sacrificed himself and family in vainly attempting to redeem them; those, with the city watchmen, lamplighters, police officers and a number of selected or favored thieves, who receive indulgences from the police officers and judges to commit a certain number of crimes without molestation, in consideration of the valuable political services which they render on those and various other occasions, assemble half an hour before the time specified in the call; arrange the meeting; cry out 'Aye' when the names are called; give three cheers before the 'Noes' can be taken, after which the contractor, who acts as chairman, pronounces everything 'carried unanimously'; then a motion to adjourn is passed, all hands go down and drink and thus are made nearly all our honorable nominating committees."

As might be conjectured, Mike Walsh's diatribe

was received with mingled cheers and hisses, but it is pleasant to report that he escaped alive to battle long and vigorously, not only in other speeches but through the undaunted columns of his newspaper, against the perfidy and political corruption of Tammany Hall which, rife as it was in that first half of the century, was only just entering upon the season of its richest blooming.

CHAPTER II

THE STORY OF THE BOSSES—FERNANDO WOOD

About the time that Samuel Swartwout was salting away his stolen million dollars and contemplating with growing enthusiasm the beneficial properties of European travel, there was arising in New York politics a young Philadelphian named Fernando Wood. Combining the attributes of a powerful physique, congenial manners and absolute unscrupulousness, he was ordained from the start to success as a Tammany politician and he made the most of his opportunity. Not only was he twice elected Mayor of New York City—"the handsomest man I ever saw and the most corrupt man that ever sat in the Mayor's chair," the famous author and statesman, John Bigelow, was to say of him—but, from the throne of thievery, wearing the crown of corruption and wielding the scepter of underworld alliance he ruled New York for a decade, the first of those absolute political monarchs, the Tammany "bosses," who for three quarters of a century thereafter were to hold the city

almost uninterruptedly under their domination. He died worth half a million dollars.

Before Fernando Wood's rise to prominence just before the Civil War Tammany Hall, although in one way and another its chiefs and principal men had done pretty well for themselves for fifty years, had known no outstanding leader capable of welding the inherent strength of the organization into an irresistible instrument for personal power and profit. The one possible exception had been Aaron Burr's short and only partial control at the beginning of the century. Fernando Wood, prepossessing, unprincipled, hypocritical, covetous and smart, found the possibilities of Tammany made to order for him. Outsider as he was, he established the dynasty that was to run for nearly seventy-five years through Boss Tweed and "Honest John" Kelly and Dick Croker and Charlie Murphy.

Wood's father, a cigarmaker, came to New York from Philadelphia soon after Fernando was born, an event which, occurring on June 14, 1812, the future Mayor always liked to refer to as synchronous with the decision of President Madison and his cabinet to declare war on England. The boy was sent to the grammar school at Columbia College, but remained there only until he was thirteen years old, when he ran away from home and struck out for himself as clerk in a broker's office. Some

homely tie led him to learn his father's trade, and by the time he was twenty he opened a tobacco shop in Pearl Street. An enthusiastic admirer of Andrew Jackson, and even then an absorbed follower of politics, the young cigarmaker attended to business so desultorily that within three years he was bankrupt. For a year he went back to clerking and then in 1836 disposed of whatever doubt remained of his fitness as a future Tammany leader by opening a saloon. Profits on the whiskey he sold at three cents a glass or so to the longshoremen and sailors who frequented his place, one block from the waterfront, did not, cheaply and crudely home-made though the stuff was, suit the greedy youth to whom the accumulation of money had always been one of life's chief aims. Before he had been in his new business very long he was augmenting his income from a more prolific source.

With money stolen from his drunken and befuddled customers, and possibly otherwise acquired, he purchased a sailing ship, and soon a second and a third, and engaged in coastal trade. By 1840, although only twenty-eight years old, he already was considered a rich man and was able to win election to Congress. In the years that followed he profited still further in real estate transactions, always with a political tinge, that left the City proportionately poorer as they made Wood wealthier and also from

the operations of several lotteries which he ran behind the figurehead of his brother Benjamin. In the fall of 1848 he capped his swift but successful career of combination business and swindling deals by outfitting one of the first ships to carry supplies to the gold seekers in California and, through the friendliness of a district attorney who postponed prosecution until the Statute of Limitations had expired by one day, by cheating his former partner Edward E. Marvine out of $8,000. The following years, thirty-seven years old, Fernando Wood retired from business to devote his exceptional talents exclusively to politics.

With plenty of money, although Fernando Wood was of the type who never could have enough of that commodity, he centered his ambition at first on seeking power and position rather than pelf. Mayor of the City of New York, Governor of New York State, President of the United States was the shining path that unrolled before the mind's eye of Fernando Wood.

Ready to his hand he found an organization which was firmly entrenched in the political life of the city from which he proposed to start his ambitious climb. Tammany Hall had abandoned unequivocally its 100 per cent American pretensions and, to the influence of the saloon as a meeting place and point of contact with the electorate to

which it catered, had added the power of the great foreign population which rapidly was piling up in New York. In the twenty years previous more than 2,000,000 immigrants had landed at the port of New York and a great many of them had remained to settle in that city. Tammany helped them to become naturalized—quickly—and taught them how to vote. Fernando Wood found the Democratic Party—its members were known more popularly as "Loco-Focos" rather than Tammanyites in that day—admirably suited to his purposes save for one thing. Slavery was a paramount issue in 1850 and it had invaded even the erstwhile solid ranks of the Wigwam. A conservative element, known as the "Hunkers," favored slavery without restriction, while the radical "Barnburners" believed it should be allowed to spread no further.

Despite this factional difficulty Wood set himself to win the Democratic nomination for Mayor and did so. By a judicious mixture of bribery and soft-stepping between the opposing elements in the Hall he emerged as the 1850 standard-bearer, a consummation which led the aged Philip Hone, himself a former Mayor and one of the most able and upright incumbents of that office, to note woefully in his famous diary:

"The Loco-Focos have nominated Fernando Wood for Mayor. There was a time when it was

thought of some consequence that the incumbent of this office should be at least an honest man. Fernando Wood! Let the books of the Mechanics' Bank tell his story. There is no amount of degradation for the party who expects to 'rule the roost' and probably will. Fernando Wood instead of occupying the Mayor's seat, ought to be on the rolls of the State Prison. But our blessed universal suffrage will raise a flame with this Wood to drive away Whigism, Conservatism and good honest Democracy as we formerly knew it. Fernando Wood, Mayor!"

The good ex-Mayor might have saved himself these gloomy reflections, for Fernando Wood's first sally in the direction of City Hall was unsuccessful. His defeat and the election of Ambrose C. Kingsland, the Whig candidate, was attributed by some observers to what proved to be the last successful expression for a long time of public revulsion against Tammany corruption. Wood immediately set to work to remedy the deficiencies in the organization he had selected as the tool of his ambition and when the campaign of 1854 came around had occupied himself so profitably in that direction that he was able to boast that "The people will elect me Mayor even though I should commit a murder in my family" before election.

Tammany was still split, the "Hunkers" and the

"Barnburners" having developed into the "Softshells" and the "Hardshells," but another issue had been raised which overshadowed their factional differences and spelt success for the candidate of their party. Opposition to the rising flood of foreign population had resulted in the entry into the political field of the Native American, or "Know Nothing" Party, so-called because of its development from a secret "America for Americans" order whose members replied to all inquiries about their affiliations that they "knew nothing." Tammany's long and careful attention to the immigrant, coupled with the election tactics it knew so well how to use —one district cast 400 more votes than it had voters—bore fruit and Fernando Wood rode into office on the ballots of the foreigners and repeaters.

Philip Hone was dead, but the victory did not go unmourned. "Well, it now appears that Mr. Wood is Mayor," bitterly admitted the editor of a newspaper which had opposed him. "With a majority of 17,366 against him, Mr. Wood is Mayor. In spite of the most overwhelming proofs that he is a base defrauder, Mr. Wood is Mayor. Supported by none but ignorant foreigners and the most degraded class of Americans, Mr. Wood is Mayor. Contrary to every precedent in the allotment of honor through a municipal history of nearly 200 years, Mr. Wood is Mayor. His assertion

to us that a murder by his own hands could not prevent his election had reason in it; Fernando Wood is Mayor. On New Year's Day he will go to City Hall, and he will go there to give the lie, in the face of every man, woman and child in this city, to the maxim—That honesty is the best policy. Have things indeed come to this? We will not yet believe it. We cannot believe it."

The new Mayor looked over his new domain and found plenty to be done. "He found," in the words of a contemporary account "the public moneys shamefully wasted, broken contracts paid for, ordinances violated for bribes or favoritism. He found the streets of this great metropolis ill-paved, broken by carts and omnibuses into ruts and perilous gullies, obstructed by boxes and signboards, impassable by reason of thronging vehicles, and filled with filth and garbage which was left where it had been thrown, to rot and send out its pestiferous fumes, breeding fever and cholera, and a host of diseases all over the city.

"He found hacks, carts and omnibuses choking all thoroughfares, their Jehu drivers dashing through the crowd furiously reckless of life; women and children were knocked down and trampled upon, and the ruffians drove on uncaught; hackmen overcharged and were insolent to their passengers; baggage-smashers haunted the docks, tear-

ing one's baggage about, stealing it sometimes and demanding from timid women and stranger men unnumbered fees for doing mischief or doing nothing; emigrant runners half-bulldog and half-leech burst in crowds upon the decks of arriving ships carried off the poor foreign people, fleeced them and set them adrift upon the town; rowdyism seemed to rule the city; it was at the risk of your life that you walked the streets late at night; the club, the knife, the slung shot and revolver were in constant activity; the Sunday low dram-shops polluted the Sabbath air, disturbed its sacred stillness and in the afternoon and night sent forth their crowds of wretches infuriate with bad liquor to howl out blasphemies, to fight or to lie prone, swine-like, on the sidewalks or in the gutters.

"Prostitution grown bold by impunity polluted the public highway, brazenly insolent to modesty and common decency; and idle policemen undistinguished from other citizens, lounged about, gaped, gossiped, drank and smoked inactively, useless upon street-corners and in porter-houses."

Mayor Fernando Wood contemplated all this and then addressed a pious inaugural message to the new Common Council which had supplanted the famous "Forty Thieves," the twenty members of the Board of Aldermen and the twenty Assistant Aldermen, whose brazen activities had been largely

responsible for the revolt of public sentiment which had resulted in his defeat for the office of Mayor four years before. This notorious body, in which a rising and gifted young politician named William Marcy Tweed, of whom much more will be heard, had held his first public office, had dealt boldly in street railway and ferry franchises, real estate transactions for the personal benefit of its members and mulcted the city generally on a colossal scale.

"The present is not an auspicious time to commence a new administration," the new Mayor plaintively admitted to the successors of the "Thieves" and then—with his tongue in his cheek, to judge from later developments—suggested that "If the Common Council will be more cautious in the passage of ordinances, especially those involving disbursements of money, holding fast to the purse-strings as against the harpies who for many years have hovered around its chambers, and if the executive bureaus will coöperate with me in the rigid enforcement of the laws, and particularly in restraining expense, and exacting a faithful performance of every contract, we may do much towards relieving the present discontent."

The wily Wood started on a path of rectitude designed, with such good effect, to lull the people into a belief in his honesty and sincerity that for a time he fooled even the head of the City Reform

Party. For six months he leaned over backwards in his efforts at uprightness. Ostentatiously he returned, as a possible reflection upon his integrity, a pass to a bus line which the proprietors sent him. He had the streets kept cleaner and clearer; he effectually forbade the city's 2,300 saloons to operate on Sunday; he quelled rowdyism; he made it possible to walk the streets at night without "the risk of your life"; he closed houses of ill-fame and gambling resorts and stopped hackmen from overcharging and even to an extent curbed their "insolence." Conditions so improved that before long the most righteous in the community were sounding his praises and condemning the misunderstanding and viciousness which had so grossly maligned so good a man.

In 1856 Fernando Wood came up for reëlection, and the stage was set for the real business of his administration. Already the word had gone out through underground channels of what the "lay" was to be and the upright Fernando had no more ardent supporters in the campaign than the saloon-keepers and the shifty, shady figures of the underworld. He needed what help he could get, for his rise to power in Tammany Hall had not been without the expense of making enemies who were determined to unseat him. Some of these were actuated by the feeling that some of Wood's elec-

THEY BOTH LIE TOGETHER IN THE WASHINGTON ARENA

DEMOCRATIC TIGER. "I have reformed, and am tame now."

REPUBLICAN LAMB. "I—I believe it!"

tioneering innovations were a little too raw even for Tammany, a few—the old-line pure American element—by a spirit of protest against the increasing ascendency of the foreign influence in the affairs of the organization; and others by downright envy of the bold Fernando's striking success and a determination to gather for themselves the bountiful harvest of the fields into which he had shown the way.

Their leader, Elijah F. Purdy, Grand Sachem of the Society of St. Tammany; unscrupulous, wealthy banker and the "old war horse" of Tammany politics, was eligible to his place at the head of the anti-Wood forces on all three counts. Among his lieutenants were Samuel J. Tilden, a young lawyer whose reasons for opposing the Mayor undoubedly came under the first head, and Peter B. Sweeny, also a lawyer and an able politician as well, whose motives were much the same as Tilden's, as were those of two other leading opponents of Wood, John McKeon and Isaac V. Fowler. Two others, William M. Tweed, who was then a School Commissioner, not because there was anything particular in it for him but because it enabled him to hold some office while waiting for the drought created by the monopolistic Wood to end, and Richard B. Connolly, caretaker of the Tammany Irish vote and a bank clerk on the side were, as events richly

proved, capable representatives of the third class of anti-Woodsmen.

This group worked hard, but while they succeeded in making the election of 1856 memorable for its bitterness they were not able—not yet—to prevent the sinister Fernando from returning to the City Hall for a second term. They attacked Wood's personal character—the Mayor countered by inditing a glowing testimonial to himself and prevailing upon a group of unquestionably upright citizens, William B. Astor's name led all the rest, to sign it. They sent emissaries among the foreign voters to discredit Wood—they found the Mayor's agents had been there before them with promises and praises which, coming from the Chief Executive of the City, were more potent than anything the "outside-looking-in" group had to offer. Primary day arrived and most of the voters with any intention of registering against Mr. Wood found the polling places "guarded" by policemen whose jobs depended upon the Mayor's favor, plus, of course, the customary payment to him of the regular scale of $25 a year for a patrolman and so on up. Wood had the money and the patronage. Although possession of office in this case was not precisely nine-tenths of the law, it was at least that fractional part of power and Wood won not only the primary contest but the election as well.

It was a close fight, there was rioting and ballot-box wrecking; but Wood won.

With the start of his second term the foxy Fernando—he had, in fact, earned the well-established nickname of "The Fox" by this time—put aside all pretense of morality and good government and set out boldly to stock his lair. Perhaps he realized, as he reviewed the election strife just past, that his hopes of attaining the Governorship, not to mention the Presidency, were vain, all vain, and that it behooved him to get what he could while the getting was good. At any rate he presented an administration which at least one historian considers "the most shamelessly corrupt in the history of American municipalities up to that time." The loyal saloon keepers who had supported Wood got the word to go the limit—and be ready to pay for it, of course, and the first Sunday thereafter found every saloon wide open in all its old-time glory. No form of vice, gambling, or crime was too mean to have its tribute greedily accepted by the agents of the handsome Mayor in City Hall, nor too vile to be permitted unimpeded operation under the sheltering wing of political "protection." Prostitutes and abortionists advertised openly, even in some of the newspapers. Appointive public offices were sold to the highest bidders at prices proportionate to the opportunities of the buyers to loot the city treas-

ury and to levy in turn on their subordinates. Documentary evidence of the first practice survives in the record of testimony taken in a Supreme Court action fifteen years later. A lawyer named N. Hill Fowler was the witness.

"You were once, Mr. Fowler, Corporation Attorney for the City of New York?" the examiner inquired.

"Yes, sir," replied the witness.

"Who appointed you?"

"Fernando Wood."

"When was your name put in?"

"Not until after I had partly fulfilled my contract with Mr. Wood."

"What was the contract?"

"I was to give Fernando Wood $5,000 in cash, my first year's salary and divide the perquisites of the office for the balance of the time."

"What did you do in pursuance of this contract?"

"I gave him $4,000 the night he gave me the appointment."

"How about fulfilling the rest of the contract?"

"I drew my salary each month; I paid it over to him at his office; I continued to do so for one year according to agreement."

"What about the perquisites?"

"The amount of perquisites for the term was $10,408, and this sum I divided equally with him."

"Did you give Mr. Wood any other moneys in pursuance of that contract?"

"I have loaned him money. He sent down to my office and wanted to borrow $1,000, and said he would hand it to me within a week; I said I was not in any hurry for the amount and he gave me a due bill for the amount; I kept the due bill until a little while before he was going to Europe, when he told me that he was going to Europe and he didn't like to have this thing standing in his way; he said, 'You have not made anything out of this office and I want to give you a chance'; I was not Corporation Attorney at that time; he said, 'Make Shea, who is now Corporation Attorney, give you the judgments against the City in favor of the Corporation Attorney; they will amount to about $6,000; you may collect them, and all that you receive you may retain.' I said I didn't know much about them but I could ascertain; he said he supposed about half of the judgments were good; I told him I supposed they were not good for anything; he said 'Well, Fowler, we have had so many transactions I don't think there will be anything wrong in the matter, and on my return from Europe I will give you a check for the balance.' When he returned I wrote a note asking him if he would please send me up a check for $1,000, borrowed money; he wrote back that he guessed he didn't owe me anything; he told me that

if I had any demand against him and could show any document for it he was ready to pay it, but if I could not do that he would not pay it: we had some sharp words; I have never received from him anything in consideration of the contract."

A State Senate investigating committee, looking into affairs in various New York City departments about ten years after this period of the Wood régime, uncovered the balance of the picture as it related to trafficking in the lesser city jobs. An inspector in the street cleaning department—to this day a treasured and lucrative source of Tammany graft and one that Wood milked to its utmost possibilities (he sold one contract for $40,000 outright and a share in the profits that amounted to another $70,000 a year)—was being examined. His name was Charles Ceise.

"Did you get an appointment as Special Inspector?"

"Yes, sir."

"How did you get it and what did you pay for it?"

"Mr. Dorhwent (an east side saloon-keeper) came to my house and told me, 'Ceise you an old man and you need very badly an office and I can help you to an office if you can pay $200.' I told him that 'I am not able to pay $200 that I got it not.' Then he said, 'Never mind you are an old friend to

me and if you cannot pay $200 you pay $125.' I said, 'What kind of office?' He said, 'In the City Inspector's office where you have nothing to do but you go around the streets sometimes and look for dead cattles and dead animals and you make a report.' I say, I cannot speak English well enough.' He says, 'Never mind you get instructions from the Superintendent, he is German.' I said, 'I am willing.' And I went down and paid Mr. Dorhwent $100 cash and I got my books and I got my shield. Then I came down one day to Mr. Dorhwent's and he showed me a gentleman and said this was my Superintendent, Mr. Weigand. 'You have to report to him every week, every day.' "

The same inquiry brought even more pitifully amusing testimony from another "inspector," one John F. Siegmann.

"Did you get an appointment as special inspector in the City Inspector's department?" the witness was asked.

"Yes, sir," was the reply.

"How did you get your appointment?"

"I was up in Dorhwent's and Mr. Wiegand was there. I had been trying to get a place as interpreter in the court last winter, and so Wiegand says to me: 'Siegmann, if you spend some money—if you pay me some money, I'll get you a place so better as interpreter, where you can make $2 every

day.' 'What is that?' I said. He says, 'One of the special street inspectors.' I said, 'How much will it cost?' He said, 'About $200.' I told him I had not got so much money as that, that I had not $100 and could not afford it. He said, 'You give me $100.' I paid him $90 and he was satisfied. He asked me when I would pay the rest. I told him from the first payment I got I would give him the other $10. In a couple of days he took me along to the City Inspector's office and introduced me to a gentleman who he said was Mr. Boole's brother. He says, 'This is Mr. Siegmann one of my special inspectors who I have under me.' 'Very good'; then he says, 'What is your name, sir?' I said, 'John F. Siegmann.' Then he gave me a book and he said, 'I will send you up a shield in two or three days.' I got it; here it is."

"What occurred next?"

"Well, sir, he told me next that I had to make returns and to go around the streets and see if I could find any dead animals, and so—" The witness was interrupted by the laughter of his audience.

"And so, what?" prompted his questioner.

"So I did."

"And you made your returns?"

"Yes, sir, I made returns of so many as I see. I reported that to him and then he paid me my money —$2 for a day."

"How long did he pay you?"

"He paid me from December, when I began, to the 21st of February, $12 a week."

"What then occurred?"

"Afterwards when I made my return he said, 'We have not got any more money now. Mr. Boole has gone to Albany to have the Legislature pass a bill. They will pass a bill and then you get paid.' "

"You never got any pay after that?"

"No, sir."

"What did you do after that?"

"I stopped walking in the streets."

It was a controversy over the Street Cleaning Department, in fact, precipitated by an act of the Legislature which removed the Department from the Mayor's jurisdiction and which he, greedily reluctant to relinquish such a profitable source of revenue, refused to recognize as legal, that led to Wood's defeat for reëlection in 1856. His opponents in Tammany Hall were not able to prevent him from securing the regular nomination, but by putting forward a candidate of their own, Daniel F. Tiemann, on a quasi-reform platform, they did succeed in encompassing his downfall at the polls. Tiemann was honest enough personally, but the structure of city government left in Wood's wake was too honeycombed with rottenness for the accomplishment of very much in the way of "reform,"

and two years later the cohorts of corruption swept their darling back into the Mayor's office.

His sun was setting, however, and he made two wrong guesses which helped to hasten its decline. Besides, his opponents, industriously working away to sap his power and augment their own, were quietly undermining him in a movement in which William M. Tweed, who had kept his hand in by proceeding from School Commissioner to the Board of Supervisors and thence to a seat in Congress for a term, had taken the undisputed lead.

The Civil War was looming and pro- and anti-slavery sentiment was becoming acute. Tammany was bitterly opposed to Lincoln and Abolitionists and Mayor Wood sounded its sentiments as well as his own when he asked in a speech delivered in the fall of 1859, "What will become of our great commercial interests so closely interwoven with Southern prosperity? The hundreds of millions of Northern capital invested in Southern productions—the wealth which is now annually accumulated by the people of the North and especially of New York out of the labor of slavery—the profit, the luxury, the comforts, the necessity nay, even the very physical existence depending upon products only to be obtained by the continuance of slave labor and the prosperity of the slave master?"

This it is repeated was Tammany's idea too, but

coming from Wood it became a fair target for attack. And when just before Fort Sumter was fired upon and the Civil War broke across the land, Wood addressed an amazing letter to the Common Council in which he expressed sympathy with the South's views on secession and seriously suggested that New York City adopt the idea and set itself up as a free city. Wood's hope of future political greatness vanished. War came, patriotism flamed and his foes in Tammany lost no time in pointing to his seditious and disloyal utterances with as much emphasis as possible. In the election he was defeated for good and all—it might almost be said for the good of all—although he managed before giving up entirely to trade with his opponents so they were compelled to put through a couple of nominations he had sold and to give him a nomination to Congress for himself. So passed Fernando Wood out of the arena of New York City politics.

Tweed speedily consolidated his position. On the first day of 1863 he was made permanent chairman of the Society of Tammany and the board of Sachems was filled with his most trusted lieutenants. A few months later Elijah F. Purdy retired and Tweed became Grand Sachem. Probably the only thing that could be worse for the City of New York than the rule of Fernando Wood had happened. The sway of "Boss" Tweed had begun.

CHAPTER III

WILLIAM MARCY TWEED

WILLIAM MARCY TWEED, the son of a chairmaker, was born at No. 1 Cherry street on April 3, 1823. He early showed the qualities of ruthless leadership which enabled him to organize the famous "Tweed Ring," for he became the leader of "Cherry Streeters" gang of boys at the age of fourteen and foreman of the Big Six Engine company soon after he attained his majority.

Like so many other Tammany Braves of those and later times his leadership of a volunteer fire fighting company was used as a stepping stone for a political career. After being defeated for a minor political office, Tweed, a robust young man nearly six feet tall and weighing close to 300 pounds, won a place as Alderman from the Seventh Ward. This was in 1852 when the Board of Aldermen was dubbed the "Forty Thieves." Before the end of his first year as Alderman he was nominated and elected to Congress, where he served two terms. He found life in the national capital rather dull and gladly accepted the "unprofitable" position of

School Commissioner in New York City in 1857.

That some year he was elected a member of the newly organized Board of Supervisors, where he remained as member or President until 1870 when a new City Charter—advocated by Tweed—centralized the power to an even greater degree and led eventually to the exposure and downfall of the Tweed Ring.

The story of Tweed is the story of Tammany for that period and can be told no more graphically, perhaps, than was done by Elmer Davis in the official History of the New York *Times,* published a few years ago. It is a fascinating, if sordid tale and runs the gamut from threats by Tweed and his associates to put the *Times* out of business to an offer of $5,000,000 in cash to George Jones, the publisher, if he would suppress the evidence of graft and discontinue his attacks on the ring.

"It is customary," Davis says in the History of the New York *Times,* "in discussing the Tweed ring, to call attention to the gradual and in the long view, quite considerable improvement in the standard of New York municipal politics. Even in the worst scandals of more recent periods the offenders showed a certain regard for outward order and decency. City officials no longer thrust their arms into the city treasury and steal money outright, as Tweed and his associates used to do; modern peculations are

measured by thousands where they stole millions, and the unearned increment in the fortunes of certain political leaders of to-day and yesterday can be traced back to such diverse and subsidiary transactions as taking a percentage from gamblers and prostitutes, or a fortunate and extremely silent partnership in contracting firms dealing with the city or with corporations dependent for franchises on municipal favor.

"The percentage of honest men in Tammany Hall is probably higher now than in the days of Croker, certainly higher than in the days of Tweed or Fernando Wood; and the improvement in public morals has affected even the reform movements. They are no longer, as they were apt to be in the forties and fifties, about as bad as Tammany. They no longer can be bought off by judicious distribution of offices to their leaders, as sometimes happened in the sixties and seventies; nor, in spite of the recent declamations of enthusiastic Republican leaders, are they as likely to make themselves impotent by divisions and quarreling as they were in the eighties and nineties. It is perhaps a matter for dispute whether stupidity and incompetence is an improvement on venality, but there is no doubt that there is a great deal of mere stupidity to-day where in similar conditions even twenty years ago there would have been corruption.

"Still, when all allowance is made for these laudable tendencies, the dispassionate observer can hardly admit that New York would be justified in giving three cheers for itself. Nor does the study of a century of municipal history tend to make converts for the philosophy of Pippa and Pollyanna. It is a painful chronicle of alternating indignation, apathy, and despair; if it teaches anything, it is only the old lesson that the solution of political problems is not to be found in changes of political machinery. In the last hundred years New York has tried about everything. Greater measures of home rule have been introduced as a desperate remedy, in the hope that centralization of responsibility would enable the public to keep officials up to the mark; but it was exactly such centralization that made possible the enormous stealings of Tweed and his confederates. In reaction from this the city, or that part of it interested in honest government, has from time to time thrown itself on the mercy of the Legislature, only to find presently, not exactly that it has exchanged King Log for King Stork, but that between storks the one who spends stolen money at home has at least some advantage over the one who plunders the city for the enrichment of up-state."

"In the period of Tweed's supremacy New York had the misfortune of enduring practically all these varieties of political experience, and for some years

each new arrangement proved to be worse than what had gone before. The chief accomplishment of *The Times'* exposure of Tweed was the breaking of this ascending spiral. Thievery soon began again, but on a much humbler scale and with considerably more caution. And never since has municipal corruption been anything like so enormous, or so flagrant, as in the period between 1868 and 1871. There have been no more Tweeds; but in view of the lessons of New York City's history, it would be rather venturesome to assert that there will never be another Tweed in the future."

"In the fifties and early sixties the dominant figure in Tammany Hall," *the Times* History continues, "was Fernando Wood, but even then Tweed was doing pretty well for himself. The charter of 1857 had given control of the city's finances to an elective bipartisan Board of Supervisors, twelve in number on which Tweed managed to obtain a dominant position. Corruption, which had always existed in the city government, rapidly increased under the benign sway of this virtually irremovable body, but the golden days of graft began only with the election of 1868, when by wholesale naturalizations at the last minute, the voting of cartloads of repeaters, stuffing of the ballot boxes, and other devices now happily gone out of fashion, Tammany elected John T. Hoffman governor of the state and

HARPER'S WEEKLY.

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"AMNESTY" OR, THE END OF THE PEACEFUL (DEMOCRATIC) TIGER.

A. Oakey Hall mayor of the city. The legislature was also Democratic by a very slight majority; but the precarious margin could be, and on occasion was, enlarged by the purchase of any necessary number of upstate Republicans. Tweed came into control of both state and city governments on January 1, 1869; his domination was ended in the fall of 1871. It is a tribute both to his ingenuity and to the largeness of his view that estimates of the amount which he and his associates stole in that brief period range from fifty million to a hundred million dollars.

"To remove the possibility of inconvenient inquiry into his doings Tweed put through the legislature in 1870—with the aid of purchased Republican votes—a new city charter. In its preliminary advertising it was proclaimed as a home rule measure; on that understanding it got a good deal of respectable support; even the *Times,* disgusted with the conditions that had arisen under the prevalent system, in the beginning favored the measure. But it presently turned out that the document was full of jokers, and that its real effect, as John Foord has put it, was to turn the city over to the control of four men—the Mayor, Hall; the president of the Board of Supervisors, Tweed; the Controller, Richard B. Connolly; and the president of the Park Board, Peter B. Sweeny. Heads of departments were appointed by the Mayor, for terms of four or eight

years, and during their terms were practically irremovable. This alone would have been enough for moderate men; but for good measure a provision was thrown in that all claims against the County of New York incurred previous to the passage of the act should be audited by Hall, Tweed, and Connolly, and met by revenue bonds payable during 1871.

"This board met only once, and then voted that all claims certified by the Board of Supervisors to the County Auditor and presented by him to the Board of Audit should be authorized. In other words, Tweed sent his bills to the Auditor—James Watson, one of his own creatures—and this functionary passed them on to the Board of Audit to receive a blanket endorsement—from Tweed. In this manner some six million dollars was "audited," mainly in connection with work done, or alleged to have been done, on the construction, equipment and repair of the County Court House. Some of the claims were purely fictitious; the others were all set down at far more than the real value of the work; and of it all Tweed and certain of his associates received 65 per cent at first, and eventually 85 per cent.

"This was the most scandalous and the most easily visible of the multitudinous thefts promoted by Tweed. Others were of the familiar sort—fraudu-

lent contracts, payrolls padded with the names of dead men, of babies in arms, or of Tammany ward heelers who had to be supported but did not want to soil their hands with work except on election day; appropriations for the support of non-existent institutions, huge payments to companies in which Tweed or his friends had an interest. But the suspicions which were inevitably aroused by such enormous and ubiquitous peculations were slow in taking definite form. Ostensibly, Tweed was saving money for the city. He reduced the tax rate in 1871, and thereby won the gratitude of taxpayers who had become alarmed at the rapid and unaccountable increase in municipal expenses. Just how much the city was spending or how much it owed nobody knew, but it was evidently a great deal. Tweed's sudden show of economy had its effect in winning support for him among the property-owning classes, and though their suspicions were not killed by any means, a good many respectable and prosperous citizens had become so discouraged with municipal politics, so willing to grasp at any straw of hope, that they were pleased to adopt the policy of the ostrich, and try to pretend that they believed public affairs were being honestly conducted, instead of undertaking the difficult and dangerous process of attempting to find out.

"As a matter of fact, Tweed had reduced the tax

rate by the very simple process of abandoning the pay-as-you-go plan of municipal finance, and meeting most of the claims which he and his friends presented to the city—together with the comparatively infrequent bills from honest creditors—by the issue of thirty-year bonds; while so far as possible the demands were met by short-term obligations not funded at all. In a city containing as many competent financiers as New York there were a good many men who saw through this, but none who dared to speak out. The man who did dare to speak was George Jones, and under his direction the *Times* began in September, 1870, a campaign which resulted, after fourteen months, in the complete overthrow of Tweed.

"That the *Times* did not begin its attack sooner may perhaps be ascribed to the influence of James B. Taylor, who was one of the three directors of the paper, and one of Tweed's four partners in the New York Printing Company. The history of this organization would alone furnish valuable matter for reflection to political reformers, and some useful hints to thieving politicians; but for the purpose of this narrative it is enough to say that before the exposure of the ring it had received some millions of public money for very slight services, and that Tweed's far-ranging plans looked to making it the

sole agency for the printing not only of the city, but of the state and eventually of the nation.

"Taylor had been a stockholder in *The Times* since April, 1861, and his associates evidently had a good opinion of him, since though he held only one tenth of the stock he was elected to Raymond's place on the directorate. But that he would have been able to hold back the paper forever from its assault on the ring is a quite untenable supposition. in view of the character of George Jones. Taylor died early in September, 1870, and the *Times's* campaign began soon after; but for the first few months the paper had nothing to go on but its suspicions, and Taylor's objections could well have been, and presumably were, based on the risk of commencing an attack on the most formidable and best intrenched group of political conspirators the country had ever known without conclusive evidence.

"It would be agreeable to suppose that similar considerations of prudence were alone responsible for the fact that the other dailies of the city were at best neutral in the fight, while most of them actually supported Tweed until his guilt was proved beyond any question; but the record shows otherwise. There was a reason why *The Times* had to fight single-handed, except for the support of *Harper's Weekly,* which in Nast's cartoons had a weapon even more powerful than Louis J. Jennings's vitupera-

tion. (Jennings was editor of *The Times.*) Enormous sums were being spent for municipal advertising, most of which was quite unnecessary. A good deal of it went to obscure publications either existing solely for the purpose of printing public advertisements, or chiefly maintained by that source of revenue, and owned by various members of the ring; but much of it went to the regular newspapers of the city, and cannot be called anything but a hush fund.

"For a while *The Times* received its share of this advertising which was rejected when it became apparent that it was a hush fund. But Tweed and his subordinates had been wise enough to see that the city was always pretty well in arrears of payment; when *The Times* refused to accept further city advertising, the city refused to pay its bill. *The Times* went to court and got a judgment, but the litigation furnished an excuse by which Mayor Hall tried—though unsuccessfully—to explain the "animus" which the paper eventually displayed by telling the truth about the city governments. In the meantime the account refused by *The Times* was turned over to *The Tribune,* which for some time showed a reluctance to believe, or to publish, anything reflecting on Tweed. In view of the fact that Tweed was at that time the boss of the Democratic party not only in the city but in the state, and was becoming dangerously powerful in his influence on the national

leaders of the party, this is an instance of magnanimity toward a political enemy quite without parallel in the history of the period.

"The hush fund did its work. When the other papers said anything about Tweed, it was in his defense. *The Sun,* to be sure, did make the ironic proposal for a monument to the "benefactor of the people," the fund to be started by a contribution of ten cents which *The Sun* professed to have received from one of Tweed's admirers. Tweed indeed suspected that Dana was not altogether in earnest, and for this and other reasons refused to accept any such testimonial; but a good many of *The Sun's* readers, as well as some historians of later days, took the suggestion seriously.

"The attack was begun by the most obvious method, and the one most readily available in view of the lack of any definite evidence. *The Times* called the attention of its readers to Tweed's sudden and enormous wealth, and asked where he had got it. Again and again the paper called on the respectable leaders of the Democratic party to disown their associate; but just then that would have been somewhat difficult. Tweed could have disowned them and remained a Democrat, but they could hardly disown the man who had carried the state for the presidential ticket in 1868, and who

was still in absolute control of the state organization, without finding themselves out in the cold.

"Then *The Times* began to ask for a little information about the city's finances. For a year and a half no statement of them had been published. It was presumed that the Controller, Connolly, was still keeping books, but they were locked away as carefully as the golden plates of the Book of Mormon, despite a law which prescribed that they should be open to the public. For two months the campaign was carried on with all the vigor of which Jennings was capable, but apparently it had little effect. In the fall of 1870 the reform ticket—supported by Republicans, independents, and those Democrats who had turned against Tweed either on principle, or because they had been excluded from the profits that were reserved for the favorites of the inner circle—was beaten by a handsome majority. There was a good deal of reason to suppose that Governor Hoffman and Mayor Hall owed their reëlection largely to Tweed's foresight in buying up a good many of the Republican election inspectors; but whatever the reason, they were reëlected.

"But *The Times* and *Harper's Weekly* kept on fighting. They kept on despite the discouragement of the election, the evidence that only a minority of New Yorkers took any interest in the continuous and enormous thefts of their own money;

despite the opposition of all the other papers, which imputed motives to *The Times* running all the way down from partisan malice against the Democratic leader, and vindictive efforts to force the payment of the overdue advertising ill, to accusations that the editors of the paper had been bought. In view of the fact that Tweed and his friends could, and eventually did, offer a good deal more for *The Times's* silence than could conceivably be bid by anybody for its continuance of the attacks, this was not a very plausible accusation; but it was often repeated and doubtless believed by a good many who had their own reasons for clinging to their faith in Tweed.

"A great many worthy citizens thought that *The* Times was unreasonable and vindictive. There was heard the complaint, since become painfully familiar, that criticisms of the administration were injuring the good name and the credit of the city, and that it was the duty of all good citizens to boost New York—and its officials. Even the reformers of the period were silent. The Citizens' Association had lately been formed for the promotion of higher standards of municipal government. It was organized and intended for reform; it began as a representative of public-spirited taxpayers, and its president was Peter Cooper. But its secretary was soon won over by the gift of a municipal office;

and Peter Cooper presently allowed himself to be convinced that Tweed and his friends had stolen as much as they could use, and that hereafter it would be to their interest to turn conservative and save money for the taxpayers.

"If this happened to the chief reform organization of the period, it may be surmised how easily Tweed flattered, bribed or terrorized other respectable citizens into giving him at least tacit support. It was dangerous to oppose him—particularly dangerous for rich men, since Tweed controlled the assessments for taxation and could raise them to any figure that suited him if property owners gave him cause for hostility. And undoubtedly a good many men kept still out of sheer apathy—the apathy begotten of long experience with city governments each of which was more corrupt than its predecessor, and the conviction that even if good citizens got together they would probably be beaten up at the polls by Tammany thugs, or counted out by Tammany election inspectors.

"The most amazing instance of Tweed's ability to mobilize the respectability of the city in his support is the famous audit of the Controller's books in the fall of 1870. *The Times* had been calling on Connolly to let the citizens know how much the city was spending, and what it owed. In October Connolly suddenly announced that he would do so,

and would submit his books to the inspection of six of the most distinguished and reputable business men of New York—Moses Taylor, E. D. Brown, John Jacob Astor, George K. Sistare, Edward Schell, and Marshall O. Roberts. Their report was published on November 1—just before the election—and undoubtedly gave to many good citizens a plausible pacifier for the disturbed conscience. For the committee reported that "the account books of the department are faithfully kept. . . . We have come to the conclusion and certify that the financial affairs of the city, under the charge of the Controller, are administered in a correct and faithful manner."

"As John Foord observes in his Life of Andrew H. Greene:

" 'These names represent the foremost financial interests of their time, and no group of men could have been selected more likely to command the confidence of the people of New York. Yet, at the very time they certified to the correctness of the Controller's books, those records contained the evidence of direct thefts amounting to about twelve million dollars, while the testimony they bore to indirect stealing was equivalent to many millions more.'

"Connolly's books, indeed, were correct. They showed that thus much money had been paid to such and such persons for this and that. When *The Times* later published these records it was at once

observed that payments of several hundred thousand dollars to individual carpenters or painters for a month's work seemed somewhat unusual, and that it was curious that three or four men had endorsed all the receipts, no matter in whose names the claims stood; but nothing of the sort seems to have occurred to the six respectable citizens.

"Their report, however, was convincing enough to those who wanted to be convinced; but Tweed discovered that there was one man in New York who could not be bought off or scared off. *The Times* continued the fight. Tweed did everything he could to fight back. Two years before, when the paper was fighting the Erie Railroad conspirators, a Tweed-Fisk judge had suggested to the grand jury that it had better indict Raymond (one of the owners of *The Times*), and Jones; but the grand jury did not take the advice. Now a new course was adopted; Tweed tried to amend the criminal code as to give to judges—of whom he had several in his pocket—greatly increased latitude in deciding what was contempt of court. When this attempt failed Tweed's agents started the story that the land on which the *Times* Building was situated, and which had been occupied before by the Brick Presbyterian Church, had been sold under a restriction binding it for all time to church uses. The effort to eject

the paper from its home also came to nothing, but it gave Jones a good deal of worry for some time.

"Worse still, he had not only enemies without but some lukewarm supporters in his own camp. Raymond had been dead less than a year and a half, but already his family wanted to get rid of their stock in *The Times*. The interest of the Taylor estate could hardly be counted as hostile to Tweed, and merchants afraid of the ring had begun to withdraw their advertising from the paper, which was continuing its fight in spite of the testimony of New York's most reputable business men that the city finances were administered in a correct and faithful manner. As a matter of fact the decline in the paper's income was not large, but it was exaggerated by rumor, and Tweed might hope that some of the stockholders would begin to put pressure on Jones.

"It was evidently in the conviction that Jones either would be willing or would be compelled to withdraw from a losing fight that Tweed formed, early in 1871, a company to buy the control of *The Times*—one of the most curiously assorted companies that was ever brought together for publishing a newspaper, or for anything else. The science and art of politics were represented by Tweed, Oakey Hall, and Sweeney; finance high and low by Fisk, Gould, and Cyrus W. Field; and the necessary

flavoring of probity and rectitude was provided by Peter Cooper and Moses Taylor. Just what these gentlemen would have done with a newspaper if they had had it would be hard to say, but one thing they would certainly have done—they would have silenced the only journalistic critics of the ring. It may be that sooner or later thievery on such a grand scale would have been exposed and defeated, but their is no certainty that anything but death would have interrupted Tweed's activities. And, as it happened, the final exposure by *The Times* came just as the ring was preparing a new scheme, the Viaduct Railroad, which was to begin with a theft of five million dollars and might have gone ten times farther before it was finished. Perhaps if *The Times* had been put out of the way a champion would have been raised up in the course of time, but no candidates for the position were visible in 1871. And even two or three years more might have enabled Tweed to do as much damage to New York as could be accomplished by anything but an earthquake and tidal wave.

"All this was plain enough to George Jones, and he refused to sell. And since rumors that *The Times* was to be bought and put out of the way had been widely circulated, he published in the paper, on March 29, 1871, a statement over his signature

which disposed of Tweed's hopes in that direction for all time.

" 'No money that could be offered me [he wrote] should induce me to dispose of a single share of my property to the Tammany faction, or to any man associated with it, or indeed to any person or party whatever until this struggle is fought out. I have the same confidence in the integrity and firmness of my fellow proprietors.

" 'Rather than prove false to the public in the present crisis, I would if the necessity by any possibility arose immediately start another journal to denounce those frauds upon the people which are so great a scandal to the city, and I should carry with me in this renewal of our present labors the colleagues who have already stood by me through a long and arduous contest.'

"After that *The Times* continued with redoubled vigor, but without much more success until well in the summer. A new reform organization was established. It held a mass meeting in Cooper Union, it commented upon the fact that the city debt had gone up something like a hundred million dollars in two years; but the masses remained unaffected, proof of what everybody believed was not forthcoming, and Tweed and his friends looked forward with confidence to the time when, having stolen

everything in New York that was not tied down, they could go on to Albany and Washington.

"For the benefit of those who believe that the right is sure to triumph in the end it may be observed that the actual exposure of Tweed was due to an accident—the overturn of a sleigh in which the County Auditor, one of Tweed's most useful subordinates, was riding. This was in December, 1870; the Auditor died of his injuries some weeks later and was replaced by the County Bookkeeper, and into the Bookkeeper's office went Matthew J. O'Rourke, a political follower of James O'Brien in a Democratic faction on bad terms with Tweed. Whether the actual discovery of the thefts should be credited to O'Rourke himself, or to one Copeland, an accountant in his office, is somewhat doubtful; but at any rate there was an investigation of some of the claims which proved at once what ought to have been evident even from the most superficial inspection, that millions were being stolen. The evidence gathered in O'Rourke's office and later published in *The Times* showed that six million dollars had been spent for repairs on the county courthouse (payment being authorized by Mayor Hall and Controller Connolly), of which ninety per cent was pure graft, and that there had been frauds of almost equal magnitude in the renting and furnishing of armories. This was a dan-

gerously large matter—too large for minor officials to handle; but the discoveries were promptly reported to O'Brien. In the somewhat discouraging history of that period, when high officers of city, state and federal governments regarded their positions as nothing more than opportunities for grand larceny, it is pleasant to come upon this instance

A CREATURE OF CIRCUMSTANCES.

"THE POOR OLD MAN." "If it had not been for that wicked Belknap and public indignation, the Verdict would have been 'NOT GUILTY!'"

of obscure public servants, receiving modest salaries, who apparently out of no other motive than a sense of fidelity to their trust gave away information which Tweed would undoubtedly have paid them a million dollars to conceal.

"O'Brien now had the facts, but it was something of a question what he could do with them. Eventually he gave them to *The Times,* but *The Times* was not his first choice. The transcript of Connolly's books was the biggest exclusive local story ever offered to a New York newspaper; but it was offered to one newspaper which refused it. Then, realizing that nobody else would take it, he gave it to *The Times,* but at first would not give his consent to its publication. Knowledge of the facts fortified *The Times* in its denunciation of the report of the six respectable citizens, and eventually O'Brien's reluctance disappeared.

"By the time he gave his consent for the publication of the evidence Tweed had found out what was going on. He had failed to scare Jones out or to freeze him out; now there remained but one recourse, to try to buy him. One afternoon in the early summer of 1871 a lawyer with whom Jones was on friendly terms asked the publisher to come to his office for a business consultation. When Jones entered he found to his surprise that only one man was in the room—Controller Connolly; and

Connolly promptly came to the point and offered Jones five million dollars to suppress the news.

"'I don't think,' Jones remarked, 'that the devil will ever bid higher for me than that.' Connolly seems to have taken this as encouragement, for he at once added: 'Think of what you could do with five million dollars! Why, you could go to Europe and live like a prince.'

"Thereupon Jones made his refusal unmistakable, and Connolly went away sorrowing, for he had great possessions.

"But before entering on a fight which with the publication of the evidence would become a death struggle, Jones felt it desirable to make his own position somewhat safer. The Raymond family still wanted to sell its stock. Undoubtedly that stock could have been sold to Tweed, and the fact that it was not, directly or indirectly, is proof enough that though the Raymonds were getting out of *The Times* they were still loyal to its interests. But Jones was afraid that somehow Tweed would get control of this stock; and while it would not give him a dominating influence on the paper, it would enable him, by alleging that the interests of the stockholders were being injured by the campaign, to start litigation which could have given one of Tweed's pocket judges an excuse for appointing a receiver. Jones had to make sure that the Raymond

share could be counted on the right side; and he found invaluable support in E. B. Morgan of Aurora, N. Y., who had owned two shares of stock when *The Times* was founded, had aided in the financing of the building project, and had recently taken a more vigorous interest not only in his property but in the fight which Jones was making against Tweed. On July 8 *The Times* published a long digest of some of its evidence relating to frauds in the rental of armories, and in the succeeding days there were repeated editorial attacks on the ring and promises of greater exposures to come. But Jones was not ready to go on till he had fortified his position, and that was soon done. On July 19 the editorial page of *The Times* began with a short statement to the effect that the thirty-four shares of *Times* stock held by the Raymond estate had been purchased by Morgan, who would thereafter be associated with Jones in the management of the paper. The statement continued:

" 'It has been repeatedly asserted that the Raymond shares were likely to fall into the possession of the New York ring, and it is in order to assure our friends of the groundlessness of all such statements that we make known the actual facts. The price paid in ready money for the shares in question was $375,000. Down to the time of Mr. Raymond's death the shares had never sold for more

than $6,000 each. Mr. Morgan has now paid upward of $11,000 each for 34 of them, and this transaction is the most conclusive answer which could be furnished to the absurd rumors sometimes circulated to the effect that the course taken by *The New York Times* toward the Tammany leaders had depreciated the value of the property.'

"Immediately following this was a double-leaded editorial headed 'Two Thieves,' in which Jennings threw his hat into the air with a loud and joyous whoop and declared that evidence which *The Times* was about to publish would prove that at least two of the four leaders of the ring were criminals. Of these gentlemen, one eventually escaped conviction by flight to Europe and the other by grace of a hung jury; that both were what Jennings called them nobody has ever seriously doubted.

"The next day *The Times* published another long analysis of some of its evidence, this time relating to the furnishing of armories. This article, like its predecessor, was written by John Foord, and was accompanied by a fiery editorial by Jennings. And on the 22d *The Times* opened up with all its batteries. When it came to the evidence afforded by the Controller's books as to the money spent (ostensibly) on the new court house, the figures themselves spoke more forcibly than any summary or any comment—those very figures which had been

audited and approved by the six respectable citizens. The previous articles had been published on the editorial page, running over into the page opposite; and even on the 21st the front page of *The Times* had begun, in the usual style, with a single-column head, 'General News.'

"But on the 22d *The Times* published a chapter of figures from the Controller's books on the front page, in broad measure, and under a three-column head. So far as can be ascertained this was the first time a real display heading had ever appeared in *The Times,* but the editors felt apparently that the facts they had to set before the public deserved the aid of all the resources of the typography of the period. Jennings's editorial accompanying the first chapter of the accounts also employed full-face type for emphasizing some of the figures, and the small capitals in which then as now the names of individuals appeared in editorials were also used for some of Jennings's epithets, such as SCOUNDRELS, SWINDLERS, THIEVES and other terms which he evidently felt were synonymous with some of the personal names mentioned."

Here is the table as it appeared on the front page of the New York *Times* of Saturday, July 22, 1871:

THE SECRET ACCOUNTS

Proofs of Undoubted Frauds Brought to Light—

Warrants Signed by Hall and Connolly Under False Pretenses

THE ACCOUNT OF INGERSOLL & CO.

"The following accounts, copied with scrupulous fidelity from Controller CONNOLLY's books, require little explanation. They purport to show the amount paid during 1869 and 1870, for repairs and furniture for the new Court-house. It will be seen that the warrants are drawn in different names, but they were all endorsed to "INGERSOLL & CO."—otherwise, J. H. INGERSOLL, the agent of the Ring. Each warrant was signed by Controller CONNOLLY and Mayor HALL. What amount of money was actually paid to the persons in whose favor the warrants were *nominally* drawn, we have no means of knowing. On the face of these accounts, however, it is clear that the bulk of the money somehow or other got back to the Ring, or each warrant would not have been endorsed over to its agent.

We undertake to prove whenever we are af-

forded the opportunity, that the following account is copied literally from the Controller's books, and forms a part of the documents to which the public is entitled to have access.

The dates given for the work done are obviously fraudulent. For example: On July 2, 1869, a warrant was drawn for furniture supplied for County Courts and offices, from Oct. 18 to Nov. 23, 1868, for $42,560.64. On July 16—fourteen days afterward—another warrant was drawn for $94,038.13 for furniture supplied to the same offices from Nov. 7 to Dec. 31. That is to say, the bill was fully paid by the *first* of these two warrants down to Nov. 23. And yet a fortnight afterward another warrant was drawn paying the Bill over again from Nov. 7. It is obvious that the fictitious dates were not remembered by the City authorities when these warrants were drawn. Many similar cases will be observed in the figures given below.

It will be seen that on one day furniture is supposed to have been supplied to the amount of $129,469.48—at least a warrant for that sum was signed by HALL and CONNOLLY in favor of C. D. BOLLAR & Co., and endorsed by INGERSOLL & Co."

Date of Warrant	*Character of Work*	*Date on Which Work was Supposed to be Done*	*Amount Drawn*
July 2	Paid for Furniture in County Courts and Offices from Oct. 18 to Nov. 23, 1868		$42,550.64
July 16	Paid for Furniture in County Offices from Nov. 7 to Dec. 31, 1868		94,038.13
Aug. 4	Paid for Furniture in County Offices July 19, 1868		53,206.72
Sep. 7	Paid for Furniture in County Offices Aug. 30, 1868		60,334.71
Sep. 8	Paid for Furniture in County Courts and Offices Sept. 23, '68		42,901.47
Oct. 22	Paid for Iron Railing, Cases, Stairs, &c., Check in name of M. W. Davis, endorsed by Ingersoll & Co., July 29, '68		63,201.16
Oct. 23	Paid for Carpets, &c., in County Courts and Offices, Check in name of J. A. Smith, endorsed by Ingersoll & Co., Aug. 10, 1868		27,154.55
Oct. 28	Paid for Furniture in County Courts and Offices Dec. 28, '68		28,032.11
Nov. 5	Paid for Carpets, &c., in County Courts and Offices, Check in name of J. A. Smith, endorsed by Ingersoll & Co., April 6, 1868		36,422.10

1869 INGERSOLL & CO. 1869

Date of Warrant	*Character of Work*	*Date on Which Work was Supposed to be Done*	*Amount Drawn*
Nov. 17	Paid for Carpets, &c., in County Courts and Offices, Check in name of J. A. Smith, endorsed by Ingersoll & Co.,	Jan. 26, 1868	$32,617.13
Nov. 16	Paid for Carpets, &c., in County Courts and Offices, Check in name of J. A. Smith, endorsed by Ingersoll & Co.,	July 29, 1868	32,185.20
Nov. 19	Paid for Furniture, &c., in County Courts and Offices,	Oct. 18, 1868	10,494.61
Nov. 24	Paid for Furniture, &c., in County Courts and Offices, Check in name of C. D. Bollar & Co., endorsed by Ingersoll & Co.,	Aug. 17, 1868	32,826.81
Dec. 2	Paid for Furniture, &c., in County Courts and Offices, Check in name of C. D. Bollar & Co., endorsed by Ingersoll & Co.,	Nov. 9, 1868	32,682.38

Date of Warrant	*Character of Work*	*Date on Which Work was Supposed to be Done*	*Amount Drawn*
June 8	Paid for Furniture, &c., in County Courts and Offices, Check in name of C. D. Bollar & Co., endorsed by Ingersoll & Co., May 8, 1869		129,469.48
June 15	Paid for Carpets, &c., in New Court-House, Check in name of J. A. Smith, endorsed by Ingersoll & Co., April 16, '69		72,605.97
June 8	Paid for Furniture, &c., in New Court-House to April 8, '69		90,923.40
Dec. 16	Paid for Furniture, &c., in County Court-rooms and Offices, April 26, 1868		54,243.57
Jan. 11	Paid for Furniture in Armoriesand Drill-rooms, Nov. 12, '68		38,906.71
Jan. 19	Paid for Furniture in same, Dec. 3 and 22, 1868		31,801.95
Feb. 27	Paid for Furniture in same from Jan. 13, '69, to Feb. 9, '69		55,791.56
Apr. 26	Paid for Furniture in same, March 11, 1869		39,844.68
June 5	Paid for Furniture in same, Nov. 17, 1868		26,325.26
Sep. 20	Paid for Furniture in same, May 26, 1869		30,116.26

1869 INGERSOLL & CO. 1869

Date of Warrant	*Character of Work*	*Date on Which Work was Supposed to be Done*	*Amount Drawn*
Feb. 18	Paid for Shades, &c.,	Check in name of J. A. Smith, endorsed by Ingersoll & Co., Dec. 21, 1868	15,786.40
May 12	Paid for Shades, Curtains, Cornices, &c.,	Check in name of J. A. Smith, endorsed by Ingersoll & Co., April 6, 1869	19,163.65
June 7	Paid for Repairs, &c.,	Check in name of J. A. Smith, endorsed by Ingersoll & Co., March 13, 1869	22,496.33
May 12	Paid for Repairs, &c.,	Check in name of C. D. Bollar & Co., endorsed by Ingersoll & Co., April 9, 1869	21,969.13
June 5	Paid for Repairs, &c.,	Check in name of C. D. Bollar & Co., endorsed by Ingersoll & Co., to Feb. 3, 1869	38,907.43
Sep. 30	Paid for Fitting up Armories,	Check in name of C. D. Bollar & Co., endorsed by Ingersoll & Co., Sept. 1, 1868	44,737.45
Sep. 20	Paid for Fitting up Armories,	Check in name of C. D. Bollar & Co., endorsed by Ingersoll & Co., July 1, 1869	32,112.78

1869 INGERSOLL & CO. 1869

Date of Warrant	*Character of Work*	*Date on Which Work was Supposed to be Done*	*Amount Drawn*
	GEORGE S. MILLER, 1869—*All the Checks Endorsed by Ingersoll & Co.*		
July 2	Paid for Repairs to Court of Common Pleas	to Oct. 17, 1867	905.51
July 2	Paid for Repairs to Courts and Offices	from Aug. 1 to Oct. 20, 1868	6,089.24
July 28	Paid for Repairs to County Offices	Dec. 23, 1868	10,647.56
July 28	Paid for Repairs to County Offices and Courts	Nov. 20, '68	11,349.54
Sep. 8	Paid for Carpenter-work, County Offices and Courts	from Nov. 12, 1868, to Dec. 12, 1868	48,833.23
Dec. 3	Paid for Repairs to County Offices and Buildings	from Oct. 21 to Oct. 31, 1868	23,038.74
Dec. 29	Paid for Repairs and Alterations, County Offices and Buildings	July 21, 1868	27,885.04
Jan. 11	Paid for Repairs in Armories and Drill-rooms	from Nov. 27 to Dec. 19, 1868	15,415.14

1868 INGERSOLL & CO. 1868

Date of Warrant	*Character of Work*	*Date on Which Work was Supposed to be Done*	*Amount Drawn*
GEORGE S. MILLER, 1869—*All the Checks Endorsed by Ingersoll & Co.*			
Jan. 19	Paid for Repairs in Armories and Drill-rooms	from Oct. 23 to Dec. 4, 1868	14,691.78
Feb. 27	Paid for Repairs in Armories and Drill-rooms	from Jan. 14 to Jan. 30, 1869	27,937.51
May 12	Paid for Carpenter-work in Various Armories	from Jan. 30 to March 23, 1869	27,651.40
June 7	Paid for Carpenter-work in Various Armories	from April 23 to May 18, 1869	38,676.50
June 7	Paid for Carpenter-work in Various Armories	from March 30 to April 16, 1869	13,864.07
Sep. 20	Paid for Carpenter-work in Various Armories	from May 25 to June 9, 1869	14,130.36
Oct. 11	Paid for Carpenter-work in Various Armories	from May 25 to June 29, 1869	49,763.80

1868 INGERSOLL & CO. 1868

Date of Warrant	*Character of Work*	*Date on Which Work was Supposed to be Done*	*Amount Drawn*
A. G. MILLER, 1869—*Checks Endorsed by Ingersoll & Co.*			
Dec. 20	Paid for Repairs to County Offices and Buildings	March 8, 1868	$34,785.03
Dec. 20	Paid for Repairs to County Offices and Buildings	July 7, 1868	18,222.47
Sep. 28	Paid for Repairs to County Offices and Buildings	July 2, 1869	48,796.63

1870 INGERSOLL & CO. 1870

Jan. 17	Paid for Furniture Furnished County Court-rooms and Offices	July 17, 1868	20,655.72
Jan. 24	Paid for Furniture Furnished County Court-rooms and Offices	May 13, 1868	33,538.36
Feb. 7	Paid for Furniture Furnished County Court-rooms and Offices		11,186.92

1870 INGERSOLL & CO. 1870

Date of Warrant	*Character of Work*	*Date on Which Work was Supposed to be Done*	*Amount Drawn*
Feb. 16	Paid for Furniture	Furnished County Court-rooms and Offices, Aug. 21, 1869	$29,404.48
Feb. 23	Paid for Furniture	Furnished County Court-rooms and Offices, Sept. 23, 1869	51,813.77
Feb. 26	Paid for Furniture	Furnished County Court-rooms and Offices, Oct. 6, 1869	26,981.90
Feb. 26	Paid for Furniture	Furnished County Court-rooms and Offices, Sept. 3, 1869	33,037.15
May 6	Paid for Furniture	Furnished County Court-house, Dec. 10, 1869	64,954.87
May 21	Paid for Cabinet-work	County Court-house, July 23, 1869	70,117.59
May 21	Paid for Cabinet-work	County Court-house, Oct. 17, 1869	64,984.82
May 28	Paid for Furniture	County Court-house, Oct. 21, 1869	40,314.09
May 28	Paid for Furniture	County Court-house, Nov. 3, 1869	39,844.19
May 30	Paid for Furniture	County Court-house, Dec. 27, 1869	68,218.82

Date of Warrant	*Character of Work*	*Date on Which Work was Supposed to be Done*	*Amount Drawn*
June 3	Paid for Furniture Furnished in County Buildings and Offices	Feb. 5, 1870	$54,030.26
June 10	Paid for Furniture, Clocks, &c., Furnished in County Buildings and Offices	March 23, 1870	69,719.10
June 13	Paid for Furniture and Cabinet-work in County Court-house	April 18, 1870	98,259.07
June 20	Paid for Cabinet-work in County Court-house	Feb. 3, 1870	66,292.33
June 27	Paid for Cabinet-work and Furniture in Armories and Drill-rooms	Feb. 27, 1869	58,330.93
June 30	Paid for Cabinet-work and Furniture in Armories and Drill-rooms	Feb. 6, 1870	54,053.33
June 30	Paid for Cabinet-work and Furniture in Armories and Drill-rooms	March 26, 1870	29,129.99
Aug. 1	Paid for Furniture in Court-rooms and Offices	March 28, 1870	91,325.50

1870 INGERSOLL & CO. 1870

Date of Warrant	*Character of Work*	*Date on Which Work was Supposed to be Done*	*Amount Drawn*
Mar. 14	Paid for Furniture in Armories and Drill-rooms	Nov. 3, '69	$58,937.60
Apr. 16	Paid for Furniture in Armories and Drill-rooms	Sept. 11, 1869	28,608.68
Aug. 31	Paid for Fitting up District-Attorney's Office	Aug. 22, 1870	30,000.00
Aug. 30	Paid for Fitting up Commissioners of Taxes' and Receiver of Taxes' Offices	June 30, 1870	40,000.00
Aug. 30	Paid for Fitting up Register's Office	Aug. 3, 1870	10,000.00
Oct. 26	Paid for Fitting up Surrogate's Office	Sept. 3, 1870	12,000.00

C. D. BOLLAR & CO.—*Checks Endorsed by Ingersoll & Co.*

May 7	Paid for Furniture, &c., Furnished in County Court-house	Sept. 16, 1869	39,260.17
May 7	Paid for Furniture, &c., Furnished in County Court-house	Oct. 18, 1869	35,114.08
May 13	Paid for Cabinet-work Furnished in County Court-house	July 18, 1869	89,379.60

NO RUDDER—NO AIM.

IT IS NOT SO EASY TO CATCH THAT DEAR LITTLE (REPUBLICAN) LAMB, AFTER ALL.

1870 INGERSOLL & CO. 1870

Date of Warrant	*Character of Work*	*Date on Which Work was Supposed to be Done*	*Amount Drawn*
	C. D. BOLLAR & CO.—*Checks Endorsed by Ingersoll & Co.*		
May 21	Paid for Fitting up in County Court-house	March 6, 1870	$39,950.18
May 21	Paid for Fitting up in County Court-house	Jan. 20, 1870	39,614.59
May 27	Paid for Cabinet-work Furnished in County Court-house	Aug. 23, 1869	125,830.56
June 10	Paid for Cabinet-work Furnished in County Court-house	April 16, 1870	67,487.21
June 30	Paid for Fitting up Armories and Drill-rooms	Jan. 7, 1870	49,208.14
June 30	Paid for Fitting up Armories and Drill-rooms	Mar. 13, '70	37,072.16
Aug. 1	Paid for Cabinet-work, &c., done in County Buildings and Offices	March 12, 1870	60,503.43
	J. A. SMITH—*Checks Endorsed by Ingersoll & Co.*		
May 6	Paid for Carpets Furnished in New Court-house	June 22, 1869	34,082.25

1870 Date of Warrant	INGERSOLL & CO. Character of Work — Date on Which Work was Supposed to be Done	1870 Amount Drawn
	J. A. SMITH—*Checks Endorsed by Ingersoll & Co.*	
May 7	—Paid for Curtains and Shades Furnished in New Court-house, Sept. 23, 1869	$36,083.80
May 21	—Paid for Carpets and Shades Furnished in County Buildings and Offices, Feb. 21, 1870	34,515.73
May 28	—Paid for Carpets and Shades Furnished in County Buildings and Offices, Feb. 21, 1870	73,602.46
June 3	—Paid for Carpets and Shades Furnished in County Buildings and Offices, Dec. 27, 1869	63,175.51
June 6	—Paid for Carpets, &c. Furnished in County Court-house, Aug. 3, 1869	42,291.45
June 6	—Paid for Carpets, &c., Furnished in County Buildings and Offices, June 21, 1869	44,259.23
June 6	—Paid for Shades Furnished in County Buildings and Offices, Sept. 16, 1869	36,987.25

INGERSOLL & CO.

1870 Date of Warrant	Character of Work	Date on Which Work was Supposed to be Done	1870 Amount Drawn
	J. A. SMITH—*Checks Endorsed by Ingersoll & Co.*		
June 24	Paid for Carpets Furnished in Armories and Drill-rooms	Dec. 22, 1869	$36,441.42
June 30	Paid for Carpets Furnished in Armories and Drill-rooms	March 16, 1870	37,426.87
June 26	Paid for Carpets Furnished in County Court-house	Apr. 17, 1870	72,819.81
	GEORGE S. MILLER—*Checks Indorsed by Ingersoll & Co.*		
Jan. 17	Paid for Carpenter-work in Court-rooms and Offices	Aug. 19, 1868 to Sept. 11, 1868	20,291.44
Jan. 17	Paid for Repairs and Alterations in County Buildings	June 7, 1868	23,005.83
Jan. 24	Paid for Repairs and Alterations in County Offices	Aug. 5, 1868	26,952.99

1870 INGERSOLL & CO. 1870

Date of Warrant *Character of Work* *Date on Which Work was Supposed to be Done* *Amount Drawn*

GEORGE S. MILLER—*Checks Endorsed by Ingersoll & Co.*

Jan. 28—Paid for Repairs and Alterations in County Offices, Sept. 23, 1868 ..... $25,366.49

Mar. 21—Paid for Repairs and Alterations in County Offices, May 13, 1869 ..... 20,255.00

Apr. 8—Paid for Repairs and Alterations in County Offices, Aug. 7, 1869 ..... $18,955.69

Apr. 8—Paid for Repairs and Alterations in County Offices, July 23, 1869 ..... 22,494.74

Apr. 8—Paid for Repairs and Alterations in County Offices, June 10, 1869 ..... 21,418.99

May 7—Paid for Carpenter-work in Court-house, May 13, 1869.... 42,128.47

May 13—Paid for Carpenter-work in Court-house, Sept. 29, 1869.... 38,902.22

May 21—Paid for Carpenter-work in Court-house, Dec. 15, 1869.... 34,990.66

May 28—Paid for Repairs in County Buildings and Offices, Aug. 31, 1869 ..... 39,361.21

INGERSOLL & CO.

1870 Date of Warrant	Character of Work	Date on Which Work was Supposed to be Done	1870 Amount Drawn
	GEORGE S. MILLER—*Checks Endorsed by Ingersoll & Co.*		
June 3	Paid for Repairs in County Buildings and Offices	Sept. 22, 1869	$37,326.02
June 6	Paid for Repairs in County Buildings and Offices	Dec. 18, 1869	32,381.73
June 6	Paid for Repairs in County Buildings and Offices	Oct. 25, 1869	35,663.82
June 10	Paid for Fitting up New Court-house	Jan. 12, 1870	44,474.30
June 17	Paid for Repairs in County Buildings and Offices	Jan. 25, 1870	48,768.21
June 20	Paid for Carpenter-work in Court-house	Feb. 9, 1870	40,965.41
June 27	Paid for Repairs in County Buildings and Offices	March 29, 1870	44,874.59
June 30	Paid for Repairs in Armories and Drill-rooms	Aug. 3, 1869	40,549.24

1870 INGERSOLL & CO. 1870

Date of Warrant	Character of Work	Date on Which Work was Supposed to be Done	Amount Drawn
	GEORGE S. MILLER—*Checks Endorsed by Ingersoll & Co.*		
June 30	Paid for Repairs in Armories and Drill-rooms	Sept. 8, 1869	$35,748.29
July 8	Paid for Repairs in Armories and Drill-rooms	Feb. 10, 1870	29,317.59
July 8	Paid for Repairs in Armories and Drill-rooms	March 2, 1870	46,947.32
July 26	Paid for Repairs in Armories and Drill-rooms	March 31, 1870	49,251.31
Aug. 9	Paid for Repairs in County Buildings	April 12, 1870	40,607.49
Aug. 12	Paid for Repairs in Armories and Drill-rooms	April 2, 1870	48,639.49
Aug. 12	Paid for Repairs in Carpenter-work in Court-house	March 23, 1870	46,343.45
Mar. 14	Paid for Repairs in Armories and Drill-rooms	to Nov. 13, 1869	38,084.28
Mar. 31	Paid for Repairs and Carpenter-work in Armories and Drill-rooms	July 6 to July 31, 1869	45,266.04
Apr. 16	Paid for Repairs and Alterations in Armories and Drill-rooms	Aug. 3 to Aug. 13, 1869	25,948.38

1870 Date of Warrant	INGERSOLL & CO. Character of Work	Date on Which Work was Supposed to be Done	1870 Amount Drawn
	GEORGE S. MILLER—Checks *Endorsed by Ingersoll & Co.*		
Apr. 16	Paid for Repairs and Alterations in Armories and Drill-rooms		$ 8,147.88
	A. G. MILLER—*Checks Endorsed by Ingersoll & Co.*		
June 24	Paid for Cabinet-work in Court-house, Jan. 9, 1870		49,082.30
June 27	Paid for Cabinet-work in County Buildings and Offices, March 29, 1870		85,163.22
June 30	Paid for Cabinet-work in County Court-house, April 2, 1870		59,932.01
Aug. 1	Paid for Cabinet-work in County Court-house, Oct. 8, 1869		69,537.68
Aug. 9	Paid for Cabinet-work in Armories and Drill-rooms, April 16, 1870		77,949.58
Mar. 28	Paid for Repairs in Armories and Drill-rooms, Aug. 28, 1869		49,742.45

INGERSOLL & CO.

1870 Date of Warrant	Character of Work	Date on Which Work was Supposed to be Done	1870 Amount Drawn
	A. G. MILLER—*Checks Endorsed by Ingersoll & Co.*		
Mar. 31	Paid for Repairs in Armories and Drill-rooms	Oct. 20, 1869	$38,818.84
Apr. 16	Paid for Fitting up Armories and Drill-rooms	Oct. 2, 1869	22,612.10
	Grand Total		$5,663,646.83

The accompanying editorial by Jennings demanded immediate criminal prosecution of some of the city officials and contained this observation: "If the public does not come to the same conclusion before we have finished our extracts from the Controller's books, then facts have lost their power to convince, and public spirit must be regarded as dead."

"The facts were convincing enough," *The Times* history continues. "It appeared, for example, that for carpets in the courthouse enough money had been paid out to cover City Hall Park three times over with the finest carpet that could be bought in New York. A single carpenter, according to the books, had received more than $360,000 within a month for his work in repairing a courthouse which was not yet finished. Of course, the carpenter never got it. Whatever the name in which the bill was made out—and the assurance of the ring may be gauged by the fact that one of the city's creditors was put down as 'Philip F. Dummey'—the checks given in payment were indorsed by members of a few firms in which Tweed and some of his accomplices were partners. Altogether, the Controller's books fully supported *The Times's* editorial assertion that a man who had a bill of $5,000 against the city for work honestly done could not get it paid until he

raised it to $55,000, with the balance going by one means or another to Tweed and his friends.

"Readers of *The Times* were allowed one day to think over the first chapter from Connolly's books, and on the 24th another followed. There was still another before the end of the week, and on Saturday the 29th all the evidence, with some editorial comment, was put into a special four-page supplement. This document was printed in both English and German; for the German Americans at that time were a much more distinct racial group than at present, and one which furnished valuable aid to municipal reform. But, for various motives of which partisanship was the most worthy, the German-American press had hitherto given its support to Tweed; so *The Times* let the Germans read the evidence in their own language.

"It had been announced beforehand that two hundred thousand copies of that supplement would be issued—a wholly unprecedented edition for a New York paper in those days. As a matter of fact the edition ran to 220,000, and a few hours after the presses had stopped it became apparent that this had not begun to meet the demand. The presses started again, and for a whole week were run continuously, except when getting out the regular issues of *The Times,* in printing the famous supplement. Altogether more than half a million copies

were issued. The people of New York now had the proof; it remained to be seen if they were capable of defending themselves.

"At first the ring was confident enough. Tweed's famous comment, 'Well, what are you going to do about it?' epitomized their reaction to the exposure. Mayor Hall seemed to think that he could meet the accusations by declaring that the papers were "surreptitiously obtained from a dishonest servant," and it says a good deal for the standards of the time that the charge of dishonesty against the man who had exposed the theft of millions by city officials was seriously received by a large part of the public. Hall further remarked that the animus of *The Times* could be found in the delayed payment for the advertising contract already mentioned. Neither he nor anybody else made other reference to the story told by the figures than an occasional remark about 'alleged records' or 'garbled accounts.'

"All over the country the revelations made by *The Times* were the chief topic of news, and of editorial comment. Only in New York City did the newspapers appear to know nothing about it. Greeley, to be sure,who belatedly remembered that he was not only a moral man but a Republican, ventured to suggest that Tweed and his associates might sue *The Times* for libel, a procedure which *The Times* earnestly invited; but the other papers did

not even by this much dignify the disclosures with any comment that might be twisted into an admission that they amounted to anything. The papers of London and Paris published long editorial comments on New York politics, but the New York papers seemed to see in them only what Mayor Hall called them, 'the gross attacks of a partisan journal upon the credit of the city.'

"Nevertheless, the public, or a part of it, was awakened. The claims, it will be remembered, which were authorized by the Board of Audit—and which, it was now apparent, contained anywhere from sixty to a hundred per cent of pure graft—were to be met by the issuance of revenue bonds payable during the year. For two years there had been no statement of city finances. As Foord writes, 'Nobody save the men in power and those in their immediate confidence knew at what figure city bonds were being negotiated, or at what rate the debt was increasing.' The first consequence of the revelations was the sudden and very natural refusal of bankers to lend any more money to an administration which was getting no one knew how much, but pretty certainly was stealing most of what it got. And there, for some weeks, matters rested. Public indignation was steadily rising as *The Times* brought out more evidence; most of the tax money had been spent, and the city could no longer borrow money;

municipal employees were not getting their pay. Already the summer of 1871 had seen one serious riot, when several hundred members of an Irish mob which had attacked the Orangemen's parade had been shot down by militia, and it seemed that this might be only a beginning. Now mobs of unpaid laborers gathered every day in City Hall Park; and Tweed and his friends, with the aid of his newspaper supporters, were trying with some success to transfer the blame for the shortage of city money from the thieves to the reformers who had exposed the thefts. And while there was not much money left in the city treasury, there was no guarantee that Tweed and his friends would not steal what little had escaped them. For they calmly refused to resign, and under the Tweed charter they could not be removed.

"On September 4 there was a mass meeting of citizens in Cooper Union, with former Mayor William F. Havemeyer presiding, and a committee of seventy was appointed to investigate the frauds and prosecute the criminals. But Tweed and his friends were not asleep; immediately after this meeting there was a 'robbery' in the Controller's office. The vouchers which would have furnished evidence that no jury could have disregarded were taken out of the glass case which had been thought sufficient to protect them, and it was later found that they had

been removed, and burned, by a Tweed official. Something desperate had to be done, and John Foley, a prominent figure in reform movements of the time, did it. Bringing suit as a taxpayer, he got an injunction on September 14 restraining the Controller from paying out any more money on claims against the city.

"This meant that not only the fraudulent claims could not be paid, but the honest claims of contractors, the wages of laborers, even the wages of the police. If the four chief conspirators had had the courage to hang on and wait for the inevitable riots, it is possible that they could have escaped with no other punishment than the compulsion to be a little more moderate thereafter; for the rioters would undoubtedly have turned their attention to *The Times* and the reformers before going on to the more profitable investigation of the stores of Broadway and the residences of Fifth Avenue, leaving the homes of Tweed and his friends untouched under their guards of 'shoulder hitters.' But luckily the conspirators lost their nerve, and then came one more proof of the familiar fact that the principal advantage of the forces of law over the criminal classes lies in the absence of honor among thieves. The Mayor suggested to Controller Connolly that inasmuch as his administration had been somewhat discredited by the voucher theft, he had better re-

sign. Connolly rightly thought that resignation just then would be taken as confession, and he also concluded that Tweed, Hall and Sweeney had decided that somebody would have to be thrown to the wolves. Being in some perplexity, he asked the advice of Samuel J. Tilden and William F. Havemeyer, with whom he had been associated in the more respectable activities of the Democratic party; and they promptly told him that he had better appoint Andrew H. Green as Deputy Controller and turn over the office to him. There were few men in the city who knew more than Green about the city government, and none who was more certainly above suspicion. Connolly took the advice, and Green's appointment on September 16 marked the beginning of the end of the Tweed ring.

"In the second phase of the fight *The Times* had more assistance, for reform was beginning to become not only fairly safe, but somewhat popular. But it was also less spectacular, and Green's tenure of office took the form of a long trench war against all forms of corruption, intimidation, and chicanery. The Mayor at first refused to recognize the appointment, and then tried to turn him out; the office had to be guarded by armed men. Under the injunction the Deputy Controller could pay out no city money, and the funds left in the treasury were not sufficient to meet the interest on city bonds which would be

due in six weeks. While valid claims were being sorted out from the mass of fraudulent charges no pay rolls could be met, and the danger of riot disappeared only very slowly and gradually. Before it disappeared *The Star*, a paper which had received a good deal of money from the ring, published the home addresses of Jennings and Jones, with a hardly veiled suggestion to city employees whose families

SWEET GAMBRINUS, "THOU OWEST ME THY LOVE" AND—VOTES.

were starving that these men were responsible for the stoppage of wages. When *The Times* made some comment on this *The Star* had the hardihood to declare that not *The Star* but *The Times* was inciting to riot—by trying to prevent Tweed and his friends from collecting what little was left.

"Not all the newspapers of the city attempted to stir up riots, but virtually all of them were hostile to Green's administration of the city finances. The reason was simple enough; among the bills which he refused to pay until their validity had been certified were those for newspaper advertising. In consequence of this the man who actually put a stop to the thefts and brought the city finances into as near order as was possible after two years of wholesale brigandage—who had borrowed money on the strength of his own reputation for integrity to meet immediate and unavoidable obligations, at a time when he had no legal authority to make commitments in the name of the city—who eventually saw that all honest creditors got their money, and that as little as possible was paid out for suspicious claims, had to fight through the greater part of his term of office with practically no newspaper support except from *The Times*.

"Green had the hardest and most thankless part of the work; even of the papers which still opposed him some had begun before election day to denounce

Tweed and all his doings except those by which the papers stood to profit. The investigations of the Citizens' Committee and Mr. Tilden's study of the accounts in the Broadway bank, showing how the stolen money was divided, had driven some of the more timorous members of the Tweed combination to seek foreign parts; and it was clear that if the election went against Tweed the ring was broken. And it did go against him. Tweed's own district sent him back to the State Senate, but almost all of his candidates elsewhere were beaten; and *The Times* jubilantly asserted that the result 'justifies our confidence in the capacity of the people, even in large cities, for self-government.'

"That was a long time ago; men had not learned then that though St. Michael may slay the dragon on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November, that old serpent will probably be crawling about as vigorous as ever by the middle of June. The Tweed ring, to be sure, was broken, and the consequences of the prosecution were fairly typical of what has happened in a hundred similar cases in American municipal history. Because Tweed was the chief offender, because the evils of his time had become embodied, in the popular imagination, in his person, he was pursued with vigor through a long and tortuous career of indictments, hung juries, con-

victions, prison terms unduly shortened by technicalities, flights to California, Spain, and Cuba, rearrests, civil suits, and finally commitment in default of payment of a judgment to Ludlow Street jail, where he died. Of the other principals in the ring, all in one way or another escaped jail; a few minor personages were convicted and locked up, and of the numerous millions stolen from the city a few hundred thousand dollars was recovered. And that was all.

"Three years later the Tammany ticket once more swept the city. To be sure, it was a somewhat deodorized Tammany. It was ruled by Honest John Kelly, and its ticket contained so considerable an infusion of respectable men that it might be a matter of some doubt whether the tiger was a black beast with yellow stripes or a yellow beast with black stripes. But it was the same old tiger, and before long it was up to the same old tricks."

GROSS ELECTION FRAUDS

CHAPTER IV

GROSS ELECTION FRAUDS

No account of the trail of the tiger in these years would be complete without some reference to the gross election and naturalization frauds practiced in the decade of 1860-70.

As stated earlier in this record, Tammany was organized as a benevolent society and at the beginning required that its officers be native Americans. Its leaders recognized, however, quite early the importance of controlling the elections, and accordingly opened its doors to the thousands of immigrants who were arriving annually in this country. Frequently these newly arrived foreigners were "naturalized" and allowed to vote within a few months after their arrival.

This story of the meeting in New York of two Italians who had known each other in Italy is illustrative of the period. Tony, who had been in the United States several months, met his old friend, a more recently arrived Italian, on the street and after a few words of greetings, said:

"Oh, Pietro, you're going to like these United

States. It's a great country. Why, you're not only allowed to vote once but several times if you want to—and they pay you $2 for each vote."

Many of these foreigners, obtaining their only training in citizenship from the agents of the politicians, really and truly thought that paying for votes was an accepted custom in their adopted homeland.

It was in 1868 that the Tweed Ring committed its most extensive naturalization frauds. Tammany, apparently, desired to insure its continuance in power at the November election of that year, for naturalization offices were opened in September in a saloon at No. 1 Centre Street with a branch office at the wigwam on Fourteenth Street. The Naturalization Committee was provided in advance with some forty thousand red tickets on which was printed:

"Please naturalize the bearer.

M. D. GALE,
Chairman Naturalization Committee,
Tammany Hall."

Each of these tickets, when delivered to a Court, authorized the Clerk to charge the naturalization fee to Tammany Hall.

Two judges handled the bulk of the applications

for citizenship that year: Superior Court Judge John H. McCunn, and Supreme Court Justice George G. Barnard. Both were creatures of Tweed. The proceedings were handled in wholesale fashion. Discussing the frauds of that year, John I. Davenport, United States Commissioner and Chief Supervisor of Elections for the Southern District of New York, has written this graphic account:

"Let us examine the manner in which these two magistrates made American citizens, and see what propriety and dignity of conduct they brought to the work.

"A member of the New York Bar has testified, that being somewhat desirous of witnessing the plan pursued by aliens in procuring naturalization, he visited a room in the basement of the City Hall belonging to the suite assigned the sheriff of the county; that he there saw about four squads, of four men each, engaged in clerical work, the several squads being under the charge of one of their number, who acted as a foreman. Each foreman, having before him a list of names and addresses, would keep the other three members of his squad employed in filling up blank applications for naturalization, in the names of persons whom he would call off to them from his list. As rapidly as a clerk would fill up an application he would sign the name of the applicant, and for a witness would sign the name of

another person, generally that of 'Patrick Goff, × his mark.' No applicants or witnesses were ever present.

"Finding himself fast becoming interested in what he had discovered, the attorney next visited the Supreme and Superior Courts. In the former court, where Judge Barnard presided, the sessions were held in the evening, nominally from seven to nine o'clock, but oftentimes work was continued until half past ten or eleven o'clock. He there saw batches of men brought into court, averaging from one hundred and forty to one hundred and fifty in a batch. As they came before the bench, they would be divided into groups around four or five bibles, one of which would be held up by five or six men in the center of the group, and the others would 'either touch it or stretch out their hands towards it.' The clerk would then call out the names, at the same time handing to the judge, face down, an application, upon the back of which the magistrate, without any examination of the paper, would affix his initials—the fiat for naturalization—no question being asked of any person, either applicant or witness. When this proceeding was through with and the men actually naturalized by order of the Court, Judge Barnard would administer the following oath: 'You, the several applicants, swear that you are twenty-one years of age;

that you arrived in this country three years before attaining that age, and have resided five years in the United States, and for the last year in the state of New York.' He would then add: 'And you, the several witnesses, swear that the contents of your several affidavits are true.'

"This was followed by the issue of certificates, which were stamped in blank with the seal of the court, and lay in huge piles upon the clerk's desk. Each application, as signed by the judge, was passed to one of the clerks, and a certification filled up and delivered to the applicant, or such person as had personated an applicant, when the oath of allegiance to the United States would be administered to all at the same time. The same person often appeared as witness for a score of applicants, and oftentimes upon several occasions during the same evening. The more prominent of these standing witnesses were Patrick McCaffrey, James and Patrick Goff, John Moran, John Ward, Joseph Moore, Michael Marrow, Solomon Berliner and Thomas Salkald.

"In the Superior Court, before Judge McCunn, who naturalized during the day, and at times both day and evening, the same gentleman has stated that the method adopted was for the clerk to call off a lot of names in the order in which the papers came to his hands, when the parties were admitted inside the railing. The applications were then passed to

another clerk, who stood at the left hand of the Judge, and the names being again called, the Judge would direct the parties to hold up their right hands, when the following oath would be put: 'You solemnly swear in the presence of the ever-living God, that these affidavits which you have severally subscribed are true; so help you God.' We have seen that no questions were put either applicants or witnesses in the Supreme Court. Judge McCunn, however, frequently went through the form of an examination so far as to ask some one present a few questions relative to the age of the applicant and the period of his residence in this country. The same standing witnesses appeared in the Superior Court that have been referred to as being so active before Judge Barnard. Frequently the same witness would assume a different name, one person having been identified as appearing before McCunn 'at least twenty-five times in a single evening, under as many different names.'

"Colonel George Bliss—the late United States District Attorney—has testified that desiring to see Judge McCunn, he learned that he was in the Common Council Chamber engaged in naturalizing aliens. Arriving there, he found a very large crowd gathered about the two doors leading into the room, one of which was used to admit persons to the court, and the other as a means of exit. After much per-

suasion of the officer on duty at one of the doors, Colonel Bliss succeeded in obtaining admission, and found a string of people coming up toward the bench. When within a few feet of the judge, they were sworn in bunches of a dozen or fifteen at a time. Each of those sworn would then pass in front of the judge, who would take from a pile of papers before him an application paper and inquire, 'Do you know this man?' The party interrogated had no means of knowing who the man referred to in the paper held by the judge was, but invariably he would answer in the affirmative, when another question or so would be put, and being answered to the satisfaction of the Court, the examined party would be told to 'pass on.' Observing this singular mode of procedure, Colonel Bliss proceeded to investigate the matter, when he found that there were *no applicants present,* witnesses only being admitted to the presence of the judge, and they only being sworn. After the witness passed out of the court room, the certificates of naturalization were handed to a court officer, who took them across the entry, and they were given out to persons who presented themselves and claimed to be the applicants. Such of these persons as subscribed to the oath of allegiance, took it before the clerk. While waiting, Colonel Bliss timed the Judge and found that in the first five minutes he

naturalized thirteen (13) persons, and in the second five minutes, fifteen (15) persons.

"One Henry Lyle, formerly an attache of the city press, has testified that being out of employment at the time, and observing what was going on in the way of naturalization, he determined to engage for himself in the business of procuring certificates. Having a large acquaintance in the Twentieth ward, he made arrangements that the names of persons for whom certificates were desired should be left for him at a liquor store in Thirty-second street. Establishing his down-town quarters in a lagerbeer saloon in Chatham street, in close proximity to the Courts, with a stock in trade consisting of an ink bottle, a few pens, a number of blank applications, obtained from the offices of the County Clerk and the Democratic Committee on Naturalization, and a list of names and residences, this was in brief his mode of transacting business: Receiving at night at his up-town quarters such names as had been left for him during the day, he would on the following morning fill up his blank applications, and either sign them as a witness with his own or a fictitious or assumed name, or procure another to so sign them. When necessary, Lyle would in a similar manner sign as applicant as well as witness. These papers he would then present to Judges Barnard and McCunn, frequently without

the presence of any person to represent an applicant, sometimes himself personating the applicant, and oftentimes appearing as the witness, while when occasion required it, he appeared as both applicant and witness. In this manner he procured *more than six hundred certificates of citizenship,* which he furnished to different parties, receiving from each sums of from one to five dollars for his services, while he paid the court fees in the 'red tickets' of Tammany Hall, which were furnished him without charge."

Subsequent investigation by federal authorities disclosed that certificates of naturalization could be obtained in several places in New York City, in the name of any person upon payment of two dollars per certificate. In fact, Benjamin L. Rosenberg, who had charge of a naturalization office over a saloon on Centre street, was quoted as telling Major William T. Simms, an investigator, but unknown to Rosenberg, that he could procure any number of certificates.

"I can get them without fail," he told Simms upon being assured the aliens were Democrats. *"I have sold seven thousand of them."*

Commissioner Davenport, continuing his investigation into the election frauds of 1868, declared his findings showed "evidences of the boldest, most gi-

gantic and corrupting crime against free institutions ever perpetrated on the face of the globe."

He spent some ten years examining the court records of that period and found, among other things, the following astonishing facts:

Hundreds of applicants and witnesses appeared to have signed their affidavits in English when they could neither read nor write that language;

Applicants and witnesses were shown as residing at addresses that did not exist—on vacant lots, stone-yards and other unoccupied places;

Houses of ill-fame were listed as the addresses of scores of newly made citizens, who had been admitted as of "good moral character";

One witness appeared thirty-four times in one day before Judge Barnard, giving thirteen different addresses as his residence.

Tweed himself testified to the prevalence of election frauds during his tenure as Tammany leader. He told the Board of Aldermen at an inquiry that Tammany Hall controlled the elections through ward representatives who counted the ballots in bulk or changed them from one candidate to another.

"Then these elections really were no elections at all?" he was asked.

"The ballots made no result," he replied briefly, "the counters made the result."

Later, after his downfall, Tweed again was being

questioned specifically about the election of 1868, when Horatio Seymour, a member of Tammany Hall, was the Democratic candidate for President.

"I don't think there is ever a fair or honest election in the City of New York," he said. "As to 1868—I think that was the year in which a great many people were naturalized."

When the *Times* exposure toppled Tweed from his throne as Chief of Tammany Hall, the doom of Judge Barnard and most of the others of the "Boss' " close associates also was sealed, and it was not long before both Barnard and McCunn were removed from office by vote of the State Senate.

It is interesting to note as this chronicle passes from the amazingly corrupt rule of Tweed to that of his successor, "Honest John" Kelly, that at least one commentator thinks that the Tweed ring had its eyes on the federal government as its next field of operations.

Matthew P. Breen, a New York lawyer, makes this significant statement in his book, "Thirty Years of New York Politics":

"And the further program as mapped out in the mind of this American Macchiavelli (Tweed), the now almost absolute political dictator of the Empire State, had it not been 'nipped in the bud' by the Ring disintegration, was that John T. Hoffman, then Governor, should become President in 1872;

that A. Oakey Hall, then Mayor, should become Governor; that Tweed himself should fill the position of United States Senator at the first vacancy; that Connolly should man the New York fort in the office of the Comptroller (because there 'was money in it,' which he liked); while Peter B. Sweeny, who had no taste for public office, was to remain the 'power behind the throne.' "

Such, Mr. Breen declares, were the whisperings in Albany in the Spring of 1871. There was no choice, however, for the tiger to enter the White House at that time for less than six months later, Tweed was disgraced and Tammany Hall was looking about for new leaders who could win back the public confidence.

Horace Greeley, Editor of the New York *Tribune,* was defeated for Congress in 1866 and blamed Tweed for it. He read an item about the suicide of a young man who had held an office under the Tammany city administration and penned this editorial:

"We wonder if our readers know the terrorism of Tammany Hall. Look at the men who control it. William M. Tweed, rich with the plunder of a hundred jobs, fat, oily and dripping with the public wealth—the head and center and front of every job that has disgraced New York for ten years. In a little while he has risen from obscurity to wealth

and power, and all by the terrorism of Tammany Hall. His chief confederate is Peter B. Sweeny, who has also risen by the influence of Tammany Hall. Sly, patient, hidden, never seeing the sun—the man who arranges the wires and shifts the scenes and intrigues—Sweeny is known as the Mephistophiles of Tammany. Then we have John T. Hoffman, who is kept by Tammany Hall as a kind of respectable attache. His humble work is to wear good clothes and be always gloved, to be decorous and polite; to be as much a model of deportment as Mr. Turvydrop; to repeat as often as need be, in a loud voice, sentences about 'honesty' and 'public welfare,' but to appoint to rich places such men as Mr. Sweeny. Hoffman is kept for the edification of the country Democrats, but all he has or ever can have comes from Tammany Hall. Then we have O'Gorman—the greediest man that ever came into Tammany Hall, we are told—elected as Reformer, but like most Reformers, alas! more ravenous and avaricious than the men they succeed. Then comes the stealthy and silent Purser—the Tammany 'what-is-it'—who quietly piles up a large fortune out of the old clothes of Tammany Hall. Purser is the Shylock of the concern, and is good for anything, from a poor devil of a placeman's warrant for two weeks' salary up to the opening of Church street—

the richest kind of a placer. So they live, and fatten and grow rich, and aim to control the State.

"All other Democratic organizations are owned by Tammany Hall—one and all are under the influence of this tyranny. Sometimes it is beaten and a popular 'reformer' elected. Tammany corrupts him, and in a fortnight the Reformer is carrying out the orders of Sweeny or dividing up his fees with some of its leaders. The leaders make the money, the followers give it. No one can hold a place under Tammany without being compelled to 'stand and deliver' a portion of his pay whenever Mr. Sweeny or Mr. Tweed fancies 'the party needs some money.' This is the strength of Tammany Hall. Its leaders hold the Treasury as Rob Roy and his thieves held the Highland Passes. Whoever comes their way must pay toll, for Tammany must live and its leaders must revel in wealth. Some poor devil of a placeman, driven to beggary, may kill himself, like the one who, the other day, found that to pay a tax of some kind, the Tammany Committee had quietly taken the remnant of his salary, some Tammany moneybroker having discounted a portion of it for him in advance. Who cares? Mr. Tweed will soon find a successor, and Mr. Purser will cash his warrant in the oiliest and quickest manner for twenty per cent."

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"FIXING THINGS"—A PROPER STEERING APPARATUS FOUND.

HONEST JOHN KELLY

CHAPTER V

"HONEST" JOHN KELLY

It was after Tweed was exposed and imprisoned that Tammany's rule or ruin tiger stalked out of its lair, eyes agleam, tail switching, and inaugurated the method of tomahawking candidates who did *not* obey the wishes of the Boss. "Honest" John Kelly, who succeeded to the leadership of the Wigwam, in face of charges of fraud that Mayor William F. Havemeyer wrote "permeates every part of your bills" as sheriff, staged one of the earliest and later one of the most notorious instances of Tammany bolting the party's candidate.

Governor Lucius Robinson, who had refused to free Tweed, was the first object of "Honest" John's displeasure. Tammany already had denied full support to Samuel J. Tilden in 1876 when he was a candidate for president and when the Democratic state convention was held and Robinson nominated "Honest" John indignant because Robinson would *not* obey him, bolted with the Tammany delegation, held another convention and had himself nominated as a candidate for governor.

Kelly knew he could not be elected but he knew that splitting the party's vote would bring defeat to the man who would not take orders. The Republican candidate, Alonzo B. Cornell, was elected and "Honest" John had his revenge.

Grover Cleveland was the next outstanding Democrat to come under the wrath of "Honest" John. As governor of New York Cleveland committed what to Tammany was the unpardonable sin, independence of Boss dictation. Cleveland had insisted that Thomas F. Grady, Tammany's nightingale orator, not be returned as a member of the New York legislature because Grady had employed obstructive tactics in opposing measures the governor desired. Cleveland also was incorruptible and this in the eyes of "Honest" John was the worst of vices.

As Cleveland had demanded, Grady was not returned to the legislature but the governor's letter was used against him by Kelly when Cleveland was seeking the Democratic nomination for president. Grady also delivered a long denunciation of Cleveland on the floor of the convention and a Cleveland supporter in replying furnished what later became one of the campaign slogans: "We love him most for the enemies he has made."

Cleveland was elected. "Honest" John, who

had predicted his defeat, crushed, he became very ill and gave his orders to Richard Croker to carry out.

"Honest" John Kelly took over the leadership of Tammany after the defeat of the Tweed ring in 1871 when Tammany was in bad repute and the faithful had been separated from their easy money jobs. Reformers were in power in the city government and the only way left for Tammany to regain any of its former prestige was to reform itself. Tammany had to regain the confidence of the honest voters and Kelly set about to do it. He had been a Democrat for years, had been abroad when the Tweed ring was broken up, traveling in the Holy Land. He had only recently retired from the lucrative office as sheriff of New York county, one of the best paying in the city government and could well afford to travel.

Kelly, who was born in Hester street, New York, in 1822, was taciturn and was the inaugurator of the silent boss rule that was followed by Richard Croker and Charles F. Murphy, his successors as Chief of the organization.

Early in life Kelly took an active part in politics, having been a member of a volunteer fire company at the same time as Tweed and making his headquarters of an evening in a saloon frequented by leading politicians. He opposed Tweed, not because of any especial difference in opinions, but be-

cause he was not one of Tweed's ring. In the 1850's he was elected alderman and then went to Congress where he served two terms and then was elected Sheriff of New York county in 1858.

After Mayor Havemeyer had openly accused the Sheriff of fraud, Kelly ran as a candidate for Mayor but withdrew just before election and sailed for Europe.

After his return and he became head of Tammany which place, he said, he accepted at the solicitation of hundreds of prominent men, Kelly started in to clean house. His first work was that he must enlist as members and officers men of unquestioned integrity. August Schell, then in the last years of his life, became Grand Sachem of Tammany, Tilden, Horatio Seymour, Sandford E. Church, August Belmont, and Abram S. Hewitt became associated with the Tiger and far and wide Tammany members broadcast that the organization was composed of men of known honesty.

Mayor Havemeyer, incorruptible, stood between John Kelly and his wish that the city government should be run for the benefit of the office holders.

The Mayor, then almost eighty years old, had after previous service, come back into political activity to carry on the reform government. Kelly, like all machine politicians, hated reform and after Tammany had covered its stripes with sheep skins,

they found it necessary to discredit the reformers. To do this they brought charges that two police commissioners had committed a misdemeanor when they removed an election inspector and they were fined $250 each. They probably were guilty of the charge but the chief thing of which they were guilty in the eyes of the Wigwam was that they were not members of Tammany.

But Mayor Havemeyer could read the intent of the Boss Controlled political society and in 1874 he wrote to Governor Dix:

"All the corrupt elements have, as if by instinct, struck hands together to render every man who makes honest endeavor for good government odious. And the elements thus arrayed are formidable. They embrace machine politicians of both parties; the numerous adherents of the late corrupt ring against whom prosecutions are pending, and to be brought, to compel restitution of millions of money plundered from the Treasury; the still more numerous class holding fraudulent claims against the city to the amount of millions more; the army of contractors, who look for subsistence to the prosecution of extended public works and the consequent increase of public debt; and with these the numerous horde of lobbyists and adventurers accustomed to be fed, directly or indirectly, out of the public crib. All these play the same game, which is to foster a

laxity and indifference in the public mind leading to the notion that all who labor for reform in public administration have merely personal interests in view; that there is no substantial difference between the officials of the Tweed régime and those who have succeeded them; that the Committee of Seventy was itself but a ring of place seekers, and, in short, that one man is as good as another."

The intention of the corrupt interests, the Mayor continued, was to create a general indifference on the part of the citizens as to who was in power and through combination of the Boss Controlled elements get their candidates elected and capture places in the city government that would bring ample financial return. The mayor, thus in the seventies, foresaw the very thing with which Tammany has been charged many times—combining with Bosses of other parties to keep their henchmen at the helm of the city treasury.

"It is from a union of these forces," Mayor Havemeyer continued, "always ready to combine, however widely divided in their political professions, that this city has before been brought almost to the verge of bankruptcy, and may at no distant period, be brought still nearer to it. It is one of their favorite arts, which they practice with occasional success, to allure to their side, by specious pretenses, men of irreproachable character and pur-

poses, who allow themselves by failure to exercise sufficient caution, to be misled."

But "Honest" John worked away at the thing he started out to do and which for fifty years proved successful in the sway of the Tiger in New York. He built up a machine. His one aim was to make his rule absolute. Once he had made up his mind on a candidate or a policy that ended the matter for he would not permit himself to be swayed. He demanded obedience to his decisions and he never forgave any one who opposed him.

Kelly had started his career as office boy on a newspaper but later became a grate setter and stone cutter because it was more remunerative than newspaper work, but when he became the ruler of Tammany he controlled two newspapers, the *Star* and the *Evening Express*. They were largely kept alive by subscriptions forced from saloon keepers. No grog shop proprietor could obtain a license from the Excise Commissions unless he could show two paid up annual subscriptions to the *Star*.

"Organization" of his political followers kept "Honest" John in power and he went on the theory that the greatest returns came with safety, if individuals placed their faith in Tammany and did nothing to impede its smooth path. He assessed candidates large sums for their nominations and inaugurated the policy of having all of the candi-

dates contribute their expense money into the organization so that a united campaign rather than several individual campaigns, could be waged.

And when an election had been won it was Tammany who handed to the Mayor the list of names of men who were to be appointed to office. If the Mayor wished to retain the support of Tammany he appointed the men on that list.

Kelly's "organization" started in the Assembly district where all Democrats were enrolled and each district was under the charge of a leader or committee which directed the organization's affairs in the district. Members from each district formed Tammany's committee on organization which had charge of primary and general elections. Thus only Tammany controlled delegates were permitted to attend conventions and all opposition was broken up by gangsters while the police refused to interfere because they owed their jobs to Tammany.

At election time saloon keepers, prostitutes, merchants and others paid tribute to the organization. The first two for immunity from arrest and the last for immunity from attacks on their stores by gangsters controlled by the ward boss. Then came election and the day previous district leaders received the amount of money they needed to pay their workers, hire vehicles and orators. This prac-

tice made the Monday before election to be called "Dough Day."

Though Kelly's administration was not tainted with scandal he accumulated a fortune of around $500,000 but was faced at every turn by enemies within the Democratic party who wanted to oust him. One thing "Honest" John feared with all of his heart was the civil service for city employees. This was a real foe. Just how much Tammany dreaded civil service was shown in the statement of George Washington Plunkett, one of Kelly's lieutenants.

"I see a vision, I see the civil service monster lying flat on the ground," Plunkett said. "I see the Democratic party standing over it with a foot on its neck and wearing the crown of victory. And I see millions of men waving their hats and singing 'Glory Hallelujah.' "

The only real scandal during Kelly's régime found Kelly's henchman recorded in the negative on a vote giving to Jacob Sharp for nothing a franchise to run a street car line along Broadway. When this bribery was exposed most of the board of aldermen left the country or went to jail, but Hugh J. Grant, Kelly's friend, was the only member of the board who had voted against the franchise.

After Cleveland had crushed "Honest" John, the

Tammany leader became ill and in 1885 practically turned over the management of Tammany to Richard Croker, his protégé. Every afternoon Croker visited the sick leader at his home where he received his orders, but it was whispered about that young Dick, after receiving the orders, did as he pleased about carrying them out.

Croker found Tammany Hall changed from a disorganized and social society into a well oiled, smooth running political machine of great power.

Croker had been brought to this country by his parents when three years old, and after a brief schooling went to work in the machine shop of the Harlem Railroad where he soon became leader of the notorious Fourth Avenue Tunnel gang. He became active in politics as the years went by. Just how active was told by William H. Lyman, Democratic candidate for constable. Lyman said after the election, "Richard Croker voted for me seventeen times in one day and he was at the head of a gang of repeaters that day."

How fitting that Croker became the protégé of "Honest" John Kelly. The mantle of the departed chief, who died on June 1, 1886, fell on the shoulders of the veterinary's son, fitted him so well that he carried out the policies of his predecessor of "silence and organization."

RICHARD W. CROKER

CHAPTER VI

RICHARD W. CROKER

THE vagaries of trial by jury may have been the agency to which New York City owed its experience of seeing the Tammany tiger change to the Tammany octopus and grip in its tentacles every source of illegal revenue which could be wrung from the suffering city. It was during Croker's reign as leader of Tammany that the stripes of the tiger were covered with the slime of the gorging octopus which exacted its toll not only from saloon keepers, prostitutes, male degenerates, thieves and grafters but pushed its tentacles into the pockets of the public servants, shaking down aspiring policemen who wanted promotions to the tune of twelve or fifteen thousand dollars for a captaincy.

But it all might have been avoided had a jury returned a verdict against the Democratic leader early in his career. Just after Croker had been elected coroner he was charged with having shot John McKenna, a car driver, during a fight with his former political idol, Jimmy O'Brien. O'Brien, a former sheriff who had befriended Croker, re-

proached him for having deserted him and having gone over to the side of his opponents supported by "Honest" John Kelly, during a political fight. An eye witness credited O'Brien with having said to Croker: "You are a damned cur. I picked you out of the gutter, and now you are supporting a rich man against me for Congress."

In the fight that followed shots were fired, and McKenna was killed. Police Sergeant Frank B. Randal testified that he spoke to McKenna in a drug store directly after the shooting and just before he died. He asked McKenna who shot him. "He said 'Dick Croker,'" Sergeant Randal testified.

Croker, arrested soon after the death of McKenna, declared he had never carried a pistol. Croker was held in prison while awaiting trial, for which "Honest" John employed the best of counsel. The jury which heard the charges against Croker was composed of six Republicans and six Democrats. Witnesses testified they saw Croker fire the shot and others testified that Croker did not fire the shots and never carried a weapon. The jury, after being out between fifteen and twenty hours, reported they could *not* reach a verdict, standing six for conviction and six for acquittal. Later it was generally believed a friend of Croker's had fired the shot.

The notoriety growing out of the trial kept Croker out of public office for a few years but during that time he worked hard to make his position with Tammany stronger.

In 1883 Croker was appointed fire commissioner of New York by Mayor Edson and then started his climb to political power and wealth, always working for his "pocket," which he admitted in testimony before the Mazet Committee when he found Frank Moss, counsel for the committee, a little too shrewd for his political mind to cope with. Moss going into the election of Judges through Tammany influence, who in turn appointed referees, who in their turn name public auctioneers, was a mental hop, skip and jump ahead of the Tammany leader.

"That referee is appointed by the judge and he appoints whatever auctioneer he pleases," Croker explained as it was brought out that he was partner with Peter F. Meyer in a firm of auctioneers.

"But if the referee is a good Tammany man, he should appoint an auctioneer who is in line with the party, should he not, as part of the patronage?" asked Moss.

"It all depends on the kind of Tammany man he is," retorted Croker.

"If he appoints your firm he does a good party act, does he not?" insisted Moss.

"Yes, sir," replied the harassed boss.

"And he ought to do that thing which puts into your pocket money, because you are a Democrat, too?"

"Yes, sir," Croker answered.

"So we have it, then, that you participating in the selection of judges before the election, participate in the emolument that comes away down at the end of their judicial proceeding, namely, in judicial sales?"

"Yes, sir."

"And it goes into your pocket?"

"I get—that is, a part of the profit."

Croker admitted that nomination by Tammany for a judgeship was equivalent to election and followed it with his astonishing declaration of the principle he followed through his political life.

"Then you are working for your own pocket, are you not?" demanded Moss.

"All the time; the same as you," Croker hurled back.

"It is not then, a matter of wide statesmanship or patriotism altogether, but it is a wide statesmanship, patriotism and personal gain mixed up, is it not?" asked Moss.

In reply to this question Croker enunciated the principle upon which he controlled Tammany, which

controlled the city government for the benefit of Tammany.

"It is to the party belongs the spoils. I tell you that now right out, so that you can make it all right," said the Boss. "We win and we expect everybody to stand by us."

That was what Tammany demanded of its office holders during Croker's régime.

Even Croker's close friends were not exempt from his primary aim in his political control. Hugh J. Grant was made sheriff of New York county by Croker and the Boss at the same time made Grant come across with coin of the realm.

The investigation by the Fassett committee brought out smoothly how the trainer of the Tammany tiger worked his game, how he did not hesitate to use his own baby daughter in collecting the graft from his close friend and godfather of the child.

Testimony by Patrick H. McCann, Mrs. Croker's brother-in-law, and by Grant developed that when Grant was sheriff he made payments to his godchild, Flossie Croker. There would be a homey family party in the Croker home at which the political boss, his wife, Flossie and Grant were present. Grant admitted that the child toddled over to him and he handed her an envelope containing $5,000 and that he had given her $10,000 in all.

"Did you hand the envelope to the little child?" Grant was asked.

"Yes, sir."

"And finally somebody took it away?"

"Yes. I think the mother took it."

"That was in bills, too, was it?"

"Yes, sir."

Grant at the time of the committee's investigation, was Mayor of New York City and was asked:

"You have made no such presents since you left the sheriff's office?"

"No, sir. I thought that was quite ample," he replied.

Croker explained to the committee what became of the money. He said he took the $10,000, added $6,500 to it and bought a piece of real estate for his daughter. There was nothing to show in the record of the purchase, however, that the property belonged to Flossie Croker. And then the shrewd Boss explained why he had not put the money in a bank where his daughter could draw interest on it.

"I have always had very peculiar notions about putting money in banks," Croker nonchalantly explained so the committee would understand his fear of trusting the money out of his sight, "and I have always kept money around the house; we never kept a bank account and this money was turned right over to her."

THE DEMOCRATIC TIGER-IN-THE-MANGER, AND THE SUBMISSIVE (M)ASSES.

But Mrs. Croker's brother-in-law, who had conceived a strong dislike for Croker, told a different version.

"Have you ever heard that Mr. Grant gave $25,000 in that way to a member of Mr. Croker's family?"

"Yes."

"While he was sheriff?"

"Yes."

"Has Mr. Croker a child named Flossie?"

"Yes."

"What is her age?"

"About six years."

"Have you ever heard that Mr. Grant on five several occasions gave an envelope addressed to Miss Flossie, which envelope on each occasion contained $5,000?"

"I heard so, yes."

Then an effort to ascertain the name of the person who gave McCann his information was started.

"Mr. McCann, was it a man who told you?"

"No, sir."

"Was it a woman?"

"Yes."

"Was it your wife; if so, we cannot ask you to disclose just what she said?"

"She was one of the parties; yes."

"Who was the other?"

"Her sister."

"Her sister, Mrs. Croker?"

"Yes."

"Then we understand that Mrs. Croker told you that during Mr. Grant's term as sheriff he gave $25,000 to Flossie?"

"Yes."

"Did you ever hear what was done with the money?"

"Paid for the house they live in . . . Mountain Avenue."

"It is to the party belongs the spoils," but only after the Boss finishes working for his "own pocket." And it came out later that prisoners who wanted to go out of jail on business or to go to the theater paid for the privilege. The sheriff's job was lucrative—more so than the legitimate fees would indicate. But Grant did not remain as sheriff long. Croker in his first important campaign had supported and elected Abram S. Hewitt as mayor. He was too honest to please Tammany and by the time his term was ended Croker found himself so well entrenched politically that he no longer needed the cloak of a thoroughly respectable citizen to cover the sins of Tammany. The political Boss then ran Grant for mayor on the Democratic ticket and elected him.

Grant at once appointed Croker as City Chamber-

lain at a salary of $25,000 a year and all other city jobs were portioned out to Tammany men. Grant was the first regular Tammany Hall man to be mayor since the days of Tweed and the tribe was back where they could get their hands on the wampum again.

Soon the usual sources of revenue were not enough to gratify the avaricious desires of Tammany and it began forming its partnership with big business. One of the most outstanding of these was the American Ice Company formed by Charles W. Morse, which planned to get control of ice at the New York docks and thereby shut off competition. The New York *World* in its exposé of this charged that Mayor Van Wyck had received stock worth $1,230,000 at par and half that at its market value, his brother Augustus stock worth $288,000 at par, J. S. Cram, dock commissioner, stock to the par value of $40,000 and Charles F. Murphy, dock commissioner, who later as Croker's successor carried the deals with big business to perfection, got $40,000.

The Fassett committee developed that grafters at that time, not only were plying their trade in the city, but that the green goods men, and crooks of a like ilk were operating throughout the country and being protected by the New York police, who

knew their addresses and where they could be reached after each raid out in the country.

Croker continued as city chamberlain until 1890, when he went to Europe for his health. He was very wealthy and could retire. In 1886, according to Mayor Grant, Croker was very poor. But by the end of 1893 Croker had invested $250,000 in a stock farm of race horses; $103,000 in race horses and $80,000 in a Fifth avenue mansion. One of his jockeys received a salary of $12,000 a year and the manager of his stock farm $5,000.

But about that time Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst, one of the city's leading clergymen, was making life miserable for Tammany by denouncing its vicious rule in his sermons. This and the brazenness of Devery who ignored complaints, brought about the Lexow investigation in 1894 and the Mazet Investigation in 1899. The conditions of blackmail by the police were brought out. But let the testimony before the Lexow committee tell its own story of the Tammany rule by graft. Police Captain Thomas J. Creedon, called before the committee, told of how he paid $15,000 for his promotion.

Q. Well now, captain, tell us all about that transaction, and inasmuch as we are to hear it, the best way is the right way and the truthful way, and I have no doubt but what the great majority of people in this city considering your record and your

service to our country will sympathize with the unfortunate position in which you have been placed —now, tell us the whole transaction? A. I was an applicant for the position of captain in the department that I was connected with so many years, from 1887, and went before the civil service board at the first examination they had here under that law, after which, having passed a creditable examination there, my name had been placed on the eligible list, but was never able to reach the place; I went through the same course a second time, with the same result; and the third time passed again a creditable examination; and friends of mine used to say to me, "What are you going there for, you are only wasting your time; if you don't make up your mind to do one thing, why you are losing your time and you had better stay at home;" and that was the situation of things down to the time that this vacancy was that I now fill; I remember very well at the time in December, I think it was the 29th of December, 1891, it was said the appointments or promotions were to be made, and if I remember right now the names were spoken of who were going to receive the places; I didn't come in on it, notwithstanding that I was on the list; a friend of mine says to me, "Why don't you bring some influence to bear on one of the commissioners, see him or have somebody see him?"

Q. What commissioner? A. One of the commissioners; the one who had this vacancy to fill, "And you must do it or else let the thing go by default." I was sitting at the desk in the station at the time, I was on desk duty, and I says to him, "Who can I see?" "Well," he says, "Mr. Reppenhagen is the representative of the New York Democracy in this district, and he represents Mr. Voorhis."

Q. That was Commissioner Voorhis? A. Yes, sir; he says "I will go around and see him and see what he thinks of it." I says, "All right;" in the course of half an hour he returned, saying, "Mr. Reppenhagen will be here in a few minutes and wants to see you;" he came and we had some conversation.

Q. Give us the conversation as nearly as you can recollect it? A. It was in relation to the appointment; I can not remember now the exact words.

Q. It was Reppenhagen who came? A. Yes; he came to the station-house.

Q. Can you not give us the substance of the conversation; I don't want to break in upon your narrative, except to remind you? A. That is now three years ago; and I really can not remember the exact words; but it had reference to the place.

Q. Proceed now? A. He says, "I will go right over and see Commissioner Voorhis, and see what

can be done; I will be back here again;" he returned some time after; I don't know how long now; before I left the desk; and stated that Commissioner Voorhis would not make the appointment that day, and that he would see me again; the other appointments were made that day; he saw me subsequently and stated that the place could be had for $12,000; I told him that that was considerable money, that I didn't have it; I didn't know how I could reach it.

Q. You were a poor man? A. I was; but, I said to him that I would see my friend and see what would be the result, and let him know; I called upon Mr. Barney O'Rourke, a friend of mine, and stated the circumstances to him; and he called the two friends together and talked the matter over; I, in the meantime, telling them that whatever they would agree upon I would stand by.

Q. That is, whatever your friends would agree upon? A. Yes; what my friends would do I would stand by it; and they agreed to make up a certain sum of money between them, and while they were working on it Mr. Reppenhagen came to see me again, saying there was another man at $12,000 up, and if I wanted the place I must put up $3,000 more.

Q. Did he mention the other man's name, captain? A. He did.

Q. Give us the name, please, that Reppenhagen told you? A. Is it absolutely necessary?

Q. Yes, sir. A. Sergeant Weigand.

Q. What precinct? A. He was then in the Ninth precinct; he is now commanding the Fourteenth precinct.

Q. As captain? A. As acting captain.

Q. That is the precinct that Captain Doherty was at when he was dismissed from the department? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Reppenhagen said to you that this Sergeant Weigand would put up $12,000, and that if you wanted the place you would have to put up $3,000 in addition? A. Yes, sir.

Q. What did you say to him, captain? A. And also that I was to be left in the precinct that I was then doing duty in as a sergeant.

Q. I did not catch that, captain? A. I was to retain that precinct; to be left in that precinct.

Q. Well, captain, he said that in addition to you being made a captain you were to be assigned to the command of the precinct you were then doing duty in as sergeant? A. Yes, sir.

Q. That was the Eleventh precinct? A. Yes, sir; that is right.

Q. Tell us what you said to him? A. I said to him that I didn't know about that, that I would have to consult my friends again, and I went and saw

my friends and laid the new proposition before them and they decided, said that it was all right, and I said if you think so I am satisfied.

Q. That is, your friends said it was all right? A. Yes.

Q. In speaking of your friends, you refer to Mr. O'Rourke? A. And the other gentlemen who were interested in the affair; I then, and because of their desire, went to a stationery store, bought a blank book, small book with blank notes, and went to the office and signed, I think, about a dozen of these notes, and then handed the book to Mr. O'Rourke.

Q. The amounts were not filled in? A. No, sir; he was to fill in according to what those people would do, his friends—my friends and his, that I didn't know anything about; the arrangement was to be carried out in that way.

Q. You gave him these blank notes with your signature on? A. Yes.

Q. So that he might fill in the names and the amounts? A. Yes, sir.

Q. And to be given to each of the persons who were to subscribe to this fund of $15,000? A. That was the understanding.

Q. Now, was there not something said then, captain, about a life policy? A. There was.

Q. How did that question come up? A. I brought it up myself.

Q. You volunteered that? A. I volunteered that myself, in case of anything occurring, life being uncertain, I wanted to protect my friends.

Q. Those persons who were going to subscribe this money? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, will you proceed, please? A. Those people came together at Mr. O'Rourke's call, those friends of mine, and the necessary amount was subscribed and placed with Mr. Snell.

Q. Mr. Snell is known familiarly as Billy Snell, is he not? A. Yes, sir.

Q. It was Reppenhagen that suggested Billy Snell as the proper man to hold the money? A. Yes, sir.

Q. And after that you saw Mr. Snell's relative, Daniel Patterson? A. Yes, sir; that is my recollection of it now.

Q. Now, give us the conversation that you had with Mr. Patterson? A. Well, it was to this substance, that Mr. Snell would be satisfied to hold that until such time as it would be decided who to pay it to—hold the amount, the money that was subscribed and the money to be paid on the order of Mr. O'Rourke; I didn't know anything about that, but I understood that to be the case; I am

testifying now not of my own knowledge; I know nothing about it.

Q. That was your understanding? A. My understanding.

Q. What next took place? A. The matter went along for a number of days; I heard no more about it until one afternoon, John J. Martin came to the station-house looking for me and told me that Commissioner Voorhis wanted to see me; I went over to headquarters and saw Commissioner Voorhis, and he put some questions to me in relation to my time on the force, etc.; and he then said it was rumored—told me that he wanted to appoint me; that he had it in his mind he would appoint me to the position of captain, but that he wanted to speak to me, as he heard rumors that there were a number of people over in the Tenth ward who made up a sum of money, and wanted to know if I had any knowledge of it; I told him I had no knowledge of it at all; and with that I left and came back to the station-house, and about five minutes after arriving at the station I was telegraphed for to come back again to the office; when I got there I was appointed and assigned to the First precinct.

Q. Well, captain, what was the next step?

By Chairman Lexow:

Q. I would like to ask the captain before he continues if he can give us the whole of the conversa-

tion he had with Commissioner Voorhis? A. That was the substance.

Q. Give as nearly as you can his words, and the words you said in answer? A. He asked me if I had any knowledge of a rumor that there were a number of liquor dealers who had pooled, made a lot of money up in my interest, I thought at the time he wanted to see what I would say, and I naturally denied it.

By Senator O'Connor:

Q. You denied it for a purpose? A. Yes, sir; because I came to the conclusion that if I said I did know anything about it I wouldn't get the place.

Q. You assumed at the time that was a question put to you by the commissioner to provide a kind of retreat for himself; your opinion at the time was that the commissioner was simply providing for his own retreat in case of necessity? A. That is the conclusion I came to.

Q. That is down here at Old Slip? A. Old Slip.

By Chairman Lexow:

Q. Do you understand that this witness Reppenhagen went directly from his conversation with you to Commissioner Voorhis? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know that to be a fact? A. Except what he told me.

Q. Now, captain, you reached the point of your

appointment and assignment to the First precinct; you felt disappointed at that, did you not, at the latter portion, being assigned to the First precinct? A. I was somewhat disappointed; yes.

Q. Now, the money at this time was in the hands of Mr. Snell? A. Yes, sir; at least, I believe so.

Q. You understood so, of course? A. Yes, sir.

Q. That had to be done before the appointment would be made? A. Yes, sir.

Q. I wish you to continue; what steps were taken then, captain, if any, in the matter? A. Well, the money was not paid right away.

Q. Why, captain? A. Well, there was no particular reason it was not paid, and Reppenhagen came down to the station-house to see me about it, and I told him he had better go up and see Mr. O'Rourke; said I, "They have got the matter in their hands; whatever they do is satisfactory to me;" and I believe that one of the reasons—I think there was a reason why the money was not paid at the time.

Q. Give us the reason? A. Mr. O'Rourke was not exactly satisfied, because he claimed that they broke their contract in sending me to the First precinct instead of the Eleventh.

Q. Mr. O'Rourke acted as your friend, in conjunction with other friends, contributing this $15,000, on the condition that you should be made a

captain and then appointed to the command of the Eleventh precinct? A. Yes, sir.

Q. That is the Eldridge street? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you inform Mr. O'Rourke and his friends of the assignment to the First precinct? A. They knew it.

Q. When they learned that you had been made a captain, but instead of being assigned to the Eleventh precinct, that you were assigned to the First precinct, they felt or considered that the contract was broken, as you term it—the agreement was broken in that respect? A. Yes, sir.

Q. And they withheld the money? A. They withheld the money some few days.

Q. Now, we come to the point when you told Reppenhagen to go and see Mr. O'Rourke; did you at that time say anything to O'Rourke about the breach of the agreement regarding the command of the precinct? A. I did not.

Q. Well, did you see O'Rourke after that? A. Yes; he made a second visit to me; he hadn't got the money yet.

Q. He went to see you again? A. The second time he brought a friend with him.

Q. Who was the friend? A. I don't know.

Q. What took place the second visit? A. I referred him again to Mr. Reppenhagen.

Q. Tell us what he said as nearly as you can rec-

ollect, captain? A. I think that he told me they refused; that Mr. O'Rourke refused to act in the matter, and I told him he had better go back and see him; and I said I would go up and see him myself; he came back, and meantime I saw Mr. O'Rourke and I told Mr. O'Rourke he might as well let the thing go; there was no fighting over it; that I would have to stand the loss if there was any loss into it.

Q. That you would have to stand the loss? A. If there was any difference in the precinct, I would have to stand it, and I learned afterward that on an order the money was paid over to Mr. Snell; who gave the order I don't know; I don't know anything about it at all; I don't know that Mr. Reppenhagen got the money; that I don't know, except that I was told he received it.

Q. And, of course, you heard him testify last night that he did get the money? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, captain, before you made application this time that you received the promotion, had you before that made application for promotion? A. Yes, sir; three or four times.

Q. And you passed the civil service examination each time? A. Yes, sir.

Q. I ask you the times prior to this particular time when you received the captaincy, do you know how you stood upon the eligible list. A. The first examination I received a percentage of 97.82.

Q. Ninety-seven and eighty-two hundredths on the first examination; was there anyone on that list higher than you were the first examination? A. Yes, sir; I stood ninth in a class of 22.

Q. At either the first and the second examinations were you approached by any persons and told that you could not get the promotion unless you paid for it? A. I was.

Q. Was that the first examination or the second? A. First.

Q. Was there a price named? A. There was.

Q. What was the price? A. Six thousand dollars.

Q. And what year was that in? A. Eighty-seven, I believe that was the year; I am not positive.

Q. What was your answer to the proposition? A. I refused.

Q. Did you state the grounds of your refusal? A. I told them I did not think it was right; that I wouldn't go into it.

Q. Now, captain, when you were made a roundsman you had not to pay anything for your promotion, had you? A. No, sir.

Q. And when you were made a sergeant you had nothing to pay for your promotion? A. No, sir; I was appointed by General Smith to both places.

Q. General Baldy Smith? A. Yes, sir.

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THE DEMOCRATIC TIGER GONE MAD.

Q. He knew your army record? A. He had a knowledge of it.

Q. You were appointed on your own merits. A. I was.

Q. While you were sergeant and after you had refused to pay for your promotion, the first suggestion that was made to you, did you experience any oppressions or inconveniences? A. No, sir; I did not.

Q. Now, captain, when you did receive your promotion, of course, your moral sensibility had not changed? A. No.

Q. You knew it was wrong the last time as well as the first? A. I did, yes.

Q. Now I ask you, captain, if you did not understand at that time, at the time of your promotion, that the system in the department had become so universal in its application that no man could get promoted unless he paid for the promotion? A. Well, that was the understanding.

Q. That was the understanding; and had it got to a point in the department, captain, and it was well understood by every man in the department, as far as common rumor and your understanding went, that any man that sought promotion, no matter what his merits may have been, had to pay for that promotion? A. Yes, sir.

Q. And under those circumstances you felt that

you had to bow down to the system then in operation? A. That was it.

Q. Then you knew the system was corrupt and bad; you had to bow down to it? A. Yes, sir.

Q. The promotion that you felt should be yours upon the strength of your merits and your service, you felt never could be yours, if you did not comply with the corrupt system then in existence? A. That is so.

Q. Captain, when you gave this money, or at least when you consented that your friends should raise this fund for you, it was with the intent and purpose that the person having the appointment of police captain should receive this money as a bribe to make your appointment? A. Well, I suppose it was.

Q. That was the intent and purpose, captain, was it not? A. I couldn't make anything else out of it.

John W. Reppenhagen recalled testified that he received the money, gave $10,000 of it to John Martin, ex-assemblyman and Democratic leader in New York City who was believed by his friends to be closest to Commissioner Voorhis. Voorhis dubbed Reppenhagen a liar and swindler.

And money flowed into the coffers of police officers from gamblers and others just as fast as politicians separated the bluecoats from their ill-gotten gains.

The Lexow Committee developed testimony that was as laughable in spots as it was pitiful in others, as to how Tammany shook down small merchants by collecting from them to get them jobs on the flourishing police force and then forgot about them. It also brought out how immigrants wishing to reap the benefit of the spoils system so successfully operated by the Tiger tribesmen, went to Tammany leaders in large gangs and got "naturalization tickets" for foreigners who could not even speak English.

Morris Jacobs, a tailor, wanted to be a policeman and he was separated from his money by agents of a policeman and the district leader. He also told how he had sees the leader order "naturalization tickets" for a crowd of men who wanted to know what they were going to get out of it if they were naturalized.

Here is the way Jacobs, who had been threatened he would be beaten up if he testified before the committee, told his story of the system and efforts to intimidate him.

Q. Where do you live, Mr. Jacobs? A. No. 1797 Third Avenue.

Q. And what is your business? A. Merchant tailor.

Q. How long have you had that business? A.

Well, I have been working—how long have I had the merchant tailor business?

Q. Yes; right there? A. In this present store about a year and a half; about a year.

Q. In what Assembly district is that store? A. In the Twenty-fifth Assembly district.

Q. How long have you lived in the Twenty-fifth Assembly district? A. About seven or eight years; off and on.

Q. Have you been a member of the general committee of Tammany Hall, or of the district committee? A. I am a member of the general committee yet.

Q. At the present time? A. At the present time.

Q. Have you expressed to me some fears for the result of your testimony to me in the way of persecution or prosecution? A. I have had an officer approach me in my store and tell me, "You son of a so and so, you are going before the Senate investigating committee, and I will lock you up the first time I get you alone, and I will knock your head off you."

Q. What is that officer's name? A. Finnan or Finnerty; it is either one or the other.

Q. What precinct is he attached to? A. Twenty-eighth, I think; the One Hundred and Fourth street station.

Q. That is Captain Westervelt's station? A. Captain Westervelt's station.

Q. Do you know this man, have you seen him many a time—Finnerty? A. I have seen him about half a dozen times in my life.

Q. In uniform? A. In uniform.

Q. Did he come into your store in uniform? A. He came into my store in uniform, and he was called on another case; there were some stuff there; I had sent my boy out, and my boy was insulted, and my wife went to find out—

Q. Never mind that quarrel with your boy? A. He was sent for to the station-house for that particular case, and instead of attending that, he followed me in my store and came to me, and he said, "You are a liar and are a squealer, and are going before the Senate investigating committee, and I will knock your head off, and lock you up the first time I get you alone."

Q. Have any other persons spoken to you in that way, or threatened you, or intimidated you? A. The officers that were with him at the time.

Q. Who were they? A. I don't know their names.

Q. Would you recognize them again? A. If I saw them; I have not seen them since.

Q. In their presence? A. Yes, sir.

Q. You said the officers; how many did you mean? A. There were two with him.

Q. There were three altogether? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did these three come into your store together? A. Two stood outside, while he went in.

Q. Did any other person come in and threaten or address you, or make any suggestions or intimidation? A. No; only that I received word through a friend of mine that I had got to see my district leader, about keeping his promise or otherwise I would see to get justice; he said he would railroad me to jail, if I mentioned his name.

Q. Who is the district leader? A. John J. Ryan; he sits over there now.

Q. Has Mr. Ryan been in this court before? A. He was here yesterday.

Q. You were here yesterday, too? A. Yes.

Q. How did Mr. Ryan know you were going to testify; how did he know you were coming to court? A. I can not tell you, except that this man who gave me this information that Mr. Ryan was going to railroad me to jail is a friend, as I asked him to see Mr. Ryan, before I was subpœnaed at all in regard to giving me the position he promised me, and that man was present when I got my subpœna.

Q. Have you any objection to stating that man's name? A. Mr. Starr.

Q. Is he in court? A. He is not in court; if he is I do not see him.

Q. Have you seen anyone else in court connected with Mr. Ryan, or the matters about which you are going to testify? A. Yesterday I saw the alderman's brother here.

Q. Who is the alderman? A. William A. Baumert.

Q. The alderman's brother was here? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Sitting inside the rail? A. Sitting inside the rail, talking to the gentlemen.

Q. Watching things yesterday. A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is he here to-day? A. No; I don't see him.

Q. You had some dealings with John J. Ryan, looking to appointment on the police force? A. I had.

Q. And those dealings have extended over a considerable period of time, haven't they? A. They have extended over a period of two years.

Q. And Mr. Ryan has received a considerable sum of money from you? A. He has got me to lay it out for the organization, promising me—

Q. He has induced you to? A. He told me to.

Q. On the prospect of being appointed a policeman? A. Certainly; I have not been appointed.

Q. How long has your application been pending?

A. I had made an application for the position before I knew Mr. Ryan.

Q. I ask you the question, how long has it been pending? A. About two years; over two years; two years and a half.

Q. Have you expressed to him some fear—

Q. Have you passed your civil service? A. Passed a civil service examination and got a rating of 87.18.

Q. You have not paid anything? A. I have not any more to pay; I have paid all to the John J. Ryan organization.

Q. You have not got any more to pay?

(Objected to; objection sustained.)

Q. Have you expressed to me some fear that you might, perhaps, be persecuted or prosecuted on account of testimony which you might give laying foundation for criminal charges against yourself? A. Yes; I have.

The Chairman.—I will make the statement. No testimony you give here before this committee can be used against you in any prosecution, and if you have paid a bribe, or if you have testified before this committee that you have paid a bribe, that testimony you give here will be an absolute bar for any prosecution for that cause against you.

Q. Were you present at a meeting of the captains of your district on Sunday evening preceding the

election of 1892—November, 1892—when Mr. Ryan was present, the district leader, and when he gave instructions to his captain? A. I was; I was on the campaign committee then.

Q. You had business then and was present? A. I was present.

Q. Will you please state, as nearly as you can, what Mr. Ryan said to the district captain? A. Yes; I believe I can recall those words: "Boys, next Tuesday is election day, and we must roll up as large a majority as possible; of course, you know you have the Tammany—we have got the majority of the inspectors of election with us, and could you know your men to be Tammany men, and they be challenged, what you say goes; you see their votes are put in; should any disturbance arise through your action, you have the police with you, and if you have not got enough, let us know, and we will give you more; we will have a whole platoon sent down, if necessary; those that are with us will receive our protection; those who are against us will receive nothing; and should a Republican vote be challenged, why they have no protection"; those are the words I heard him say.

G. And did you hear him say anything about the police just prior to the election last year? A. Yes: "Now, I want you district captains to hand the secretary the names of those police officers whom you

think are friendly toward our organization, and let him have them, and I will see that you have them at the polling place."

Q. Do you recall anything else in connection with two matters which you have not stated, in the way of instruction by the leader to his captain; have you stated all that you recollect? A. That he has instructed his captains?

Q. Yes. A. That is about all I can recollect so far; if any Tammany Hall votes were challenged that we would not be beaten because we could get them in; we had the police with us.

Q. Do you know anything about a club of foreigners who were naturalized in connection with these elections? A. I do.

Q. Tell us briefly; do not take too much time; come right down to it? A. A man by the name of Lewis H. Levi and another man, whose name I do not know, told me that they had read in the newspawers something about a man of the name of Jacobs, about to receive a nomination, and they would like to be with me; I informed them that that was not me, but that I was with the Tammany Hall organization; "Well, if you are with the Tammany Hall organization, we will be with you"; I said, "How many are you altogether"; he says, "There is a few of us can vote, but if you give us naturalization tickets, we will get naturalized"; I told them I would

see Mr. Ryan; I went up and seen Mr. Ryan; that is, I saw his brother, J. P. Ryan, and I asked him for tickets; "About how many?" I said, "I have been asked for about a hundred"; he said, "I will not give you the tickets, I know the people they are for; they do not intend to vote the Tammany Hall ticket, and I won't give them to you"; I said, "Very well," and he told me to speak to his brother, the leader of the district; I spoke to his brother, and told him there was a man down there, a standard bearer of the club, and he asked me for a hundred tickets; and he said, "Oh, give Jacobs these tickets"; and I brought this man around and introduced him to Mr. Ryan; and as far as I could understand, he was asked by Mr. Ryan what object he had for getting naturalized for his benefit; and he said, "That is exactly what I came to see you about; I want to know what we are going to get"; he said, "I can give several of you good positions after election"; these men came to me and told me that they had a hard job to get naturalized because they could not answer the questions intelligently; and I told them I had nothing to do with that, to go down and see Mr. Ryan; some of them did go down and see Mr. Ryan, those who could not get their papers; and Mr. Ryan, it appears, gave them a letter, and when they presented that letter, which introduced them to somebody down there, they did get their papers.

Chairman Lexow.—Mr. Moss, we know of all sorts of tickets, but we have never heard of naturalization tickets; ask the witness to explain that.

Q. Just take the chairman's suggestion, and explain what those tickets are; what do they look like? A. The ticket is a red ticket; the same as used in restaurants, with the price on it that a man has got to pay for it after his meal; only in place of the price being on this, it says, "Naturalization bureau," underneath the name of John J. Ryan, Twenty-fifth Assembly district; something like that.

Q. Was the name of the organization on it? A. The name of Tammany Hall.

Q. Do you mean to say that ticket is exchangeable for naturalization papers in this city? A. That ticket saves them 50 cents, I believe.

Q. By presenting that ticket the person who applies for naturalization is saved a fee of 50 cents? A. Fifty cents.

Q. The organization pays the fee instead of the person himself? A. Yes.

Q. What did they do with the ticket? A. They took it down to the naturalization bureau.

Q. Of Tammany Hall? A. Of Tammany Hall, sure; they gave their name; then they got the ticket first; then they gave their name, and then they are taken care of.

Q. Do you know that these men were naturalized? A. I know a great many were.

Q. Do you know whether they had lived in the country long? A. I don't know any of them only by sight, and that is a very short time.

Q. Do you know whether any of them have lived less than five years in the country? A. I could not tell whether they lived in the country a year.

Q. Do you know any single one that was not in the country five years? A. I could not say that, because they were all strangers to me.

Q. Hadn't you seen them around in your district at all? A. I have seen them in my district; I seen many around in my neighborhood, but not five years.

Q. How long have you seen these people in your neighborhood? A. I have seen them off and on perhaps six or eight months, before they came to me.

Q. Isn't it the general understanding that many of those people have not lived in the city or country five years? A. Why, certainly; I have heard people; I doubt whether any of them have lived in the country for five years.

Mr. Ransom.—Don't answer. I want to object. The chairman, I suppose, will instruct the witness.

Chairman Lexow.—Only state what you know; or if you have had a conversation with any of these people who were naturalized, or the person that wanted to naturalize them, state the conversation

with reference to the length of time they have lived in this country.

A. Well, Mr. Ryan gave this man instructions to get them all naturalized.

Q. Were you present when he gave the instructions? A. Yes, he told this to Lewis H. Levi.

Q. Tell the whole conversation you had with Mr. Levi at that time? A. The conversation was that Levi was looking for patronage, and he was looking for money.

Q. What did Ryan say to Levi and Levi say to Ryan? A. Mr. Ryan asked him what he wanted after being naturalized, and that is what he said he came to see about, what they were going to get, as they had a club.

Q. Did he say anything about these people being entitled to be naturalized as citizens? A. No; he did not; only Mr. Ryan said, "See you get them all naturalized."

Q. What was the name of the club? A. The Lewis H. Levi Association.

By Mr. Moss:

Q. Do you know any members of that club who were naturalized that could not speak the English language? A. Yes; I do; one or two of them; I couldn't mention their names, because I could not keep track of them.

THE LEXOW COMMITTEE REPORT

CHAPTER VII

THE LEXOW REPORT

And after taking thousands of pages of testimony about police abuse, blackmail and graft the Lexow committee made this report to the Senate of the New York Legislature:

State of New York

No. 63.

IN SENATE,

January 18, 1895.

Report
of the
Special Committee Appointed to Investigate
The Police Department of The City of
New York

In presenting this report, it is not the intention of your committee to submit a comprehensive analysis of the work performed and the results attained, but

rather to accentuate the salient features of a record which, when closely scrutinized, will disclose conditions in a department of municipal government undreamed of at the time of the inception of the inquiry, and justly challenging the most serious attention of the Legislature. Inasmuch as your committee owed its origin primarily to resolutions passed by various prominent and representative commercial and municipal reform organizations of the city of New York, wherein sweeping and specific charges were made against the police department of said city, it was assumed that specific proof was at hand and would be offered to sustain them. We found, however, at the threshold of our labors, that the charges made were intended to be general in their character and that there was not a scintilla of positive or affirmative evidence to substantiate them. Thus it became the duty of your committee, for itself, through such agencies as were available, to prosecute its inquiry into the affairs of said department, and thereby to itself substantiate by testimony charges which it was assumed would be supported by proof already collected. The true volume of labor accomplished cannot be measured by the testimony actually adduced, and yet that which is presented with this report will indicate the magnitude and gravity of the undertaking. The record shows a total of 10,576 pages of proceedings. This does

PUTTING A HEAD ON.

not include a mass of documentary exhibits which were read and considered in evidence, for the purpose of information. Of this testimony, 1,077 pages embrace the subject-matter of police interference at the polls, and the balance, or almost 9,500 pages refer to the subject-matter of blackmail, extortion and corruption. In all, 678 witnesses were examined, of whom eighty-one were examined on the first and 597 on the second branch of the inquiry. In all about 3,000 subpœnas were served, of which upwards of 2,750 were with reference to the second branch of the inquiry.

While during the first stages of the investigation, the difficulty lay mainly in ability to procure testimony, as the investigation progressed, as public sentiment became more and more aroused; and the developments assumed from day to day a more startling aspect, the number of witnesses and the variety of testimony offered increased prodigiously, and the main difficulty finally lay in sifting the good from the mass and in rejecting that which was purely cumulative.

In this connection attention may, with propriety, be directed to the valuable services rendered to your committee by the Hon. William A. Sutherland, who served as counsel with reference to that branch of the investigation which dealt with police interference at the polls. It is due mainly to his services,

rendered under peculiarly trying circumstances in connection with a branch of the inquiry which did not meet at the time with the same degree of public approval as did the investigation into the general subject of police corruption and extortion, that your committee is able to place before this body revelations demonstrating the manner and method prevailing during recent years in the conduct of elections in the city of New York, which must be of absorbing interest to the people of this State. The branch of the investigation conducted by him apart from sentimental considerations, so closely touches the interests of all the people, affecting as it does the right of every citizen within this jurisdiction to cast but one ballot and to have that ballot counted as cast, that it furnishes in itself abundant reason for legislative insistence upon conditions that will measurably prevent a recurrence of manifest fraud against the whole people so conclusively established.

Upon the second branch of the investigation, your committee was especially fortunate in having at the outset the active support and coöperation of many representative organizations, notably of the Society for the Prevention of Crime, and its distinguished president, Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst; of the Chamber of Commerce, represented by Charles Stewart Smith, Esq., and of the metropolitan newspapers,

whose intelligent coöperation and loyal assistance contributed very largely to final success.

Justice requires the furthur statement that from the very inception of the investigation down to its close the district attorney acted in entire harmony with your committee, voluntarily placing at its disposal his own services and those of his assistants, together with the facilities and authority of his office, while the higher criminal courts aided in every proper way to facilitate our work.

These important auxiliaries very materially strengthened the hands of your committee and increased its influence in the community, until as a consequence your committee was enabled to accomplish results which under other circumstances would probably have been unattainable.

The second branch of the investigation was under the special charge of Hon. John W. Goff, now recorder of the city of New York, ably assisted by William Travers Jerome and Frank Moss. The services of Mr. Goff called for special commendation from your committee. At every stage of the inquiry he proved himself fully equal to the laborious task imposed upon him and prosecuted the examination of witnesses ably, relentlessly and fearlessly, bringing to the service of your committee a zeal and devotion to duty, a tireless industry and a degree of

ability certainly never surpassed and probably never before equalled in a legislative investigation.

It is proper to add that two of the named counsel were Democrats and the other a Republican and that throughout the proceedings the inquiry was conducted wholly upon non-partisan lines, that the party affiliations of no person connected with the police department were considered, and that the controlling purpose of your committee was and at all stages continued to be to elicit the true condition of affairs without respect to person or party."

The report then set forth that the resolution under which the committee made the investigation which is the special subject of this report, was adopted on the 30th day of January, 1894.

On the 8th day of May 1894, by memorandum filed with the bill, Governor R. P. Flower refused to approve it.

"If I thought the purpose behind this bill was an honest one, or that the interests of the State of New York would be benefitted by the proposed investigation, I would give the measure my approval," Flower said. "But the bill has every appearance of being a misuse of public money and of legislative power for the manufacture of political capital or the division of political patronage."

Flower's memorandum continued:

"If there are people in New York who think their

local governments is not a good one, it is their privilege and their duty to make it good. The remedy should be the same there as in other cities of the State—by the election of good officers. The majority rules in this country, and if the majority wants good government it can always secure it through the fearless exercise of suffrage. But all change is not reform, and all investigation is not correction. Reform by legislative investigation can only come when legislative investigation is honest, thorough and impartial. But under any circumstances, it is the unnatural, illogical remedy. The natural remedy is close at hand—watchful and loyal citizenship. That is the manly, straight-forward, welcome remedy. The employment of that remedy makes a municipality self-reliant, proud and strong. It vindicates our theory of self government and builds our State and our Republic upon a sure foundation."

The report continued:

"Thereupon, prominent members of the Chamber of Commerce of the city of New York, including Charles Stewart Smith and Gustav H. Schwab, guaranteed to your committee that counsel fees to an amount necessary to enable the committee to prosecute said investigation, would be advanced upon the order of the chairman of your committee, to be refunded to them at the pleasure of the Legislature. While it cannot be said that this provision saved

the investigation from failure, it having been previously determined to prosecute said investigation regardless of the question of immediate compensation of counsel, yet the guarantees thus given were an earnest of the strong public sentiment which then supported your committee and aided very materially in establishing that mutual confidence between committee and community, which was a prerequisite to successful inquiry.

"Pursuant to the resolution hereinbefore referred to, the following Senators were appointed members of the committee: Clarence Lexow, Edmund O'Connor, George W. Robertson, Cuthbert W. Pound, Charles T. Saxton, Jacob A. Cantor and Daniel Bradley.

"Immediately after the appointment of said committee the various organizations that had requested the passage of said resolutions were asked to furnish names of counsel from among whom your committee would choose its legal adviser or advisers.

"While these matters were under discussion, your committee proceeded to take testimony as to the first branch, and beginning with the 9th day of March, 1894, continued on this line with such interruptions as the absence of the Senators in the performance of their legislative duties necessitated, until the 13th day of April, 1894, when further inquiry into this

branch was discontinued, and has not since been resumed.

"It is not intended, in this report, to enter upon any extended analysis of the testimony so taken. The results of the investigation up to this point may, however, be properly summarized in the general statement that it has been conclusively shown that in a very large number of the election districts of the city of New York, almost every conceivable crime against the elective franchise was either committed or permitted by the police, invariably in the interest of the dominant Democratic organization of the city of New York, commonly called Tammany Hall. The crimes thus committed or permitted by the police may be classified as follows:

"Arrest and brutal treatment of Republican voters, watchers and workers; open violations of the election laws; canvassing for Tammany Hall candidates; invasion of election booths; forcing of Tammany Hall pasters upon Republican voters; general intimidation of the voters by the police directly and by Tammany Hall election district captains in the presence and with the concurrence of the police; colonization of voters, illegal registration and repeating, aided and knowingly permitted by the police; denial to Republican voters and election district officers of their legal rights and privileges; coöperation with and acquiescence in the usurpation by

Tammany Hall election district captains and watchers of alleged rights and privileges, in violation of law.

"In fact, it may be stated as characteristic of the conditions shown to exist by a cloud of witnesses that the police conducted themselves at the several polling places upon the principle that they were there, not as guardians of the public peace to enforce law and order, but for the purpose of acting as agents of Tammany Hall, in securing to the candidates of that organization by means fair or foul the largest possible majorities. They evidently regarded themselves as coadjutors of that organization, stationed at the several polls for the purpose of securing its success whether by lawful or unlawful means, resorting to device, oppression, fraud, trickery, crime and intimidation of almost every conceivable character. Owing to the suspension of the taking of testimony upon this, in order to commence the investigation into the more extended and locally interesting branch, your committee is not able to furnish accurate figures showing the effect of police crime and police interference in matters pertaining to the elective franchise, but it is quite evident that the practices of the police exerted an important and decisive influence upon results. This fact is made uncontrovertibly plain by comparison of the vote cast in the Second

Assembly district in the year 1893 with the vote cast in that district at the last election.

"In 1893 the judge of the Court of Appeals and minor State officers only were candidates. In 1894 the Governorship, Lieutenant Governorship, the judge of the Court of Appeals, and mayoralty of the city were in the balance, and yet the vote cast in 1894, in the district referred to, was smaller by more than 4,000 votes, or by more than twenty-five per cent of the total vote cast, than that cast in 1893; while in view of the greater importance of the issues involved, there should normally have been a large increase in the number of votes polled, indicating that in 1893 more than 4,000 fraudulent votes were cast and counted in a single Assembly district of the city. It was due to the presence of and the revelations before your committee that similar frauds were not enacted at the late election. When we consider, by comparison during the same year, of the votes polled in the town of Gravesend, that the same startling decrease is noticeable, the conclusion seems irresistible that the same forces were at work in the two localities, producing similar results.

"It was conclusively shown that during each of the years 1891, 1892 and 1893, very many thousands of unlawful ballots were cast and counted by the active coöperation and connivance of the police, and it is to be regretted that sufficient time was not

at the disposal of your committee to enable it to subject every district in the city to a rigorous examination upon the lines of this branch of inquiry, whereby a more accurate estimate of the effect of police interference might be reached. Sufficient, however, appears upon the record to show beyond peradventure that owing to the practices above referred to during the years covered by the investigation, honest elections had no existence, in fact, in the city of New York, and that, upon the contrary, a huge conspiracy against the purity of the elective franchise was connived at and participated in by the municipal police, whereby the rights and privileges of the individual were trampled ruthlessly under foot, and crime against the ballot held high carnival.

"It is a significant fact that police captains whose precincts were especially considered in this connection were appointed by the president of the board of police, and one of the most conspicuous leaders of Tammany Hall, at the instance of the organization, as an organization, and that one of them, when informed that watchers had been sent to the polls at the instance of local reform associates, to aid in securing an honest vote and count, called the officers of his command together, and instructed them that if those silk stockings interfered they should stand them on their heads.

"The evidence shows, moreover, that partisan

bias did not stop with captains, but that in 1892 the president of the police board himself, just prior to the Presidential election, in defiance of the superintendent of police, gave directions to the assembled captains which if carried into effect would have caused riot and bloodshed at the polls, and would have precipitated encounters between the police and the United States marshals. The commissioner denied this, but in such a vague manner that in the view of the positive statements of the superintendent on the subject, we are forced to accept the latter's statements as true.

"The evidence, taken as a whole, indicates that the department was permeated by the influence of Tammany Hall; that district leaders influenced not only the appointment but the assignment of officers; that forced contributions were levied upon the members for the benefit of district organizations, and that a situation had been reached under four years of a partisan police board where the officer had been brought to understand that the only hope for promotion was in joining and contributing to Tammany Hall Associations, and seeking through these channels the sure road to promotion.

"Thus we find police captains and inferior officers of so-called Republican proclivities actually enrolling themselves as members in Democratic clubs, notably the Pequod Club, of which a police commissioner

was president. Thus we find Tammany Hall influences predominating to such a degree and the wholesale joining of district associations and other political clubs so promient a feature and so demoralizing to the force, that Commissioner Martin, the president of the police department, finally asked the intervention of Richard Croker, a private citizen, unconnected with the police department, but leader of Tammany Hall, in order to secure through the influence of that organization, a cessation of this abuse. No stronger illustration is necessary to show how under the then existing conditions, a political faction had impressed itself so strongly upon the police force that its authority was more potent than that of the nominal chiefs of the department.

"While on this subject it is proper to refer to the testimony of the President of Liquors Dealers Association of this city, who admitted that when he desired a nomination as candidate for delegate to the Constitutional Convention, he went to the same supreme head of authority, because, in his words, there was no other place to go, and to the additional facts which appear in the testimony, that in 1892, by a species of compact, the precise terms of which were not elicited, the liquor interests of the city sought and received immediate relief from police oppression by joining the powerful organization referred to.

"The same private citizen, whose authority was so potent as to accomplish all of this, was able by a word of command at once to shut up all the pool rooms then in full operation and which, according to the testimony up to that time, neither the whole force of police, of detectives, of superintendent, or of the commissioners, themselves, could effectively close.

"Taken as a whole, the record upon this point discloses the fact that the police department, from the highest down to the lowest, was thoroughly impregnated with the political influence of Tammany Hall, and that the suppression and repression of crime depended, not so much upon the ability of the police to enforce the law, but rather upon the will of that organization or faction to have the law enforced.

The conclusion seems irresistible, that, under the circumstances such as now exist in the city of New York, it becomes the paramount duty of the Legislature to remove as far as practicable the possibility of political influences securing a controlling power over the police force. It is not a mere theory, but a practical condition. It is true that an aroused citizenship has now control, at least to some extent, of the machinery of municipal government, but the unpalatable fact remains that those influences which created the conditions hereinbefore and hereinafter

referred to, are still active and potent in the municipality, and that they outnumber any one other political organization. Were it otherwise, remedies might be suggested which would fully meet the situation. As it is, however, the future ascendancy of the same disorganizing and disintegrating forces must be considered and a remedy suggested which shall neutralize as far as practicable their future baleful effects.

Second Branch of the Investigation

"Your committee began taking testimony on the second branch of the investigation on the twentieth of May, and continued with occasional interruptions until the twenty-ninth of December. Prior to May twentieth, counsel having this branch under supervision had been engaged for almost two months in setting the necessary machinery into motion for a comprehensive investigation into the whole subject-matter relating to this branch of the inquiry, in organizing a corps of efficient detectives, and in examining communications, largely anonymous, which came to your committee and to their counsel, containing complaints and suggestions of clues.

In order to carry out the instructions of this body, it was absolutely necessary for your committee to neutralize the terrorism and despotism of the police over the community at large, and especially over

most of the witnesses examined, and in order to accomplish this, your committee was constrained to pursue the inquiry with relentless severity.

"It must be difficult for those unacquainted with metropolitan conditions, to realize the potent influence exercised by the police until the disclosures before your committee destroyed the bondage.

"Those in the humbler walks of life were subjected to appalling outrages which to some extent continued, even to the end of the investigation. They were abused, clubbed and imprisoned, and even convicted of crime on false testimony by policemen and their accomplices. Men of business were harassed and annoyed in their affairs, so that they too, were compelled to bend their necks to the police yoke, in order that they might share that so-called protection which seemed indispensable to the profitable conduct of their affairs. People of all degrees seemed to feel that to antagonize the police was to call down upon themselves the swift judgment and persecution of an invulnerable force, strong in itself, banded together by self interest and the community of unlawful gain, and so thoroughly entrenched in the municipal government as to defy ordinary assault. Strong men hesitated when required to give evidence of their oppression, and whispered their stories; tricks, subterfuges and schemes of all kinds were resorted to to withhold from this committee

and its counsel the fact that they had knowledge of acts of corruption or oppression by the police. The uniform belief was that if they spoke against the police, or if the police discovered that they had been instrumental in aiding your committee, or had given information, their business would be ruined, they would be hounded from the city and their lives, even, jeopardized.

"In the course of the inquiry, a man rushed into the session of your committee, fresh from an assault made upon him by a notorious politician and two policemen, and with fear depicted upon his countenance, threw himself upon the mercy of the committee and asked its protection, insisting that he knew of no court and of no place where he could in safety go and obtain protection from his persecutors. This condition of fear was not confined to law-abiding citizens, but extended to those partners of the police engaged in illegal business under their protection, for they realized that 'squealing' as they termed it, would be punished more severely than failure to pay monthly dues.

"While it was impossible for your committee to spend much time in considering police courts, enough is shown upon the record to justify the conclusion that a very important reason why the police have been able to carry on and successfully perpetrate their reprehensible practices, is that at least some

THE HOST'S DILEMMA—WHETHER TO PASS IT AROUND TO THE WHOLE PARTY OR JUST CALL A FEW CHOSEN SPIRITS OUT TO THE PANTRY

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of the police justices have apparently worked in sympathy and collusion with them.

"The poor, ignorant foreigner residing on the great east side of the city has been especially subjected to a brutal and infamous rule by the police, in conjunction with the administration of the local inferior criminal courts, so that it is beyond a doubt that innocent people who have refused to yield to criminal extortion, have been clubbed and harassed and confined in jail, and the extremes of oppression have been applied to them in the separation of parent and child, the blasting of reputation and consignment of innocent persons to a convict's cell.

"The coördination of all the departments of city government, under the sway of the dominant Democratic faction in that city, has produced a harmony of action operating so as to render it impossible for oppressed citizens, particularly those in the humbler walks of life, the poor and needy, to obtain redress or relief from the oppression or the tyranny of the police. Their path to justice was completely blocked. It is not credible that the abuses shown to exist have been the creation of but a short time. It is clear from the evidence that abuses have existed for many years back; that they have been constantly increasing through the years, but that they did not reach their full and perfect development until Tammany Hall obtained absolute control of the city government,

and under that control the practices which had been shown conclusively before your committee, were brought into a well regulated and comprehensive system, conducted apparently upon business principles.

"While your committee has not had the necessary time to devote to an examination into the excise department, the department of charities and corrections and the police courts of the city, it is satisfied from the evidence upon its record that abuses exist in those departments, if not as flagrant as those shown to exist in the police department, at least sufficiently important to require drastic measures upon the part of the local authorities or the Legislature of this State.

"Another great impediment to the work of your committee was the effort of those implicated and their allies to thwart the investigation. The counsel and detectives of your committee were surrounded by spies, and witnesses who had been located were frightened into silence, or quieted by bribes, and in some cases removed from the jurisdiction of your committee.

"Large numbers of persons whose testimony involved financial dealings with the police fled to other States, and remained away during our sessions. It was shown that a colony of the keepers of disreputable resorts had gone to the city of Chicago,

in order to evade the subpœna of your committee. A notable instance was that of Mrs. Herreman, who had kept a number of houses of ill-repute in the fifteenth precinct, under the administration of four captains, and who had paid continuously for protection to the extent of $30,000 or more. She was subpœnaed, and apparently willing to testify, and when the day was set she was provided with a considerable sum of money, placed under an escort, and sent, first to Canada, and then to Chicago, where she was located by a detective in the employ of your committee. An indictment was secured for contempt in failing to obey your committee's subpœna, and she was finally induced to return to New York, but upon her arrival in Jersey City, when under the care of the deputy sergeant-at-arms of this Senate, attempts were made to take her from the custody of our officers, resulting finally in the arrest of all. But the magistrate, Judge Potts, and Chief of Police Murphy refused to lend their aid in thwarting the ends of justice, and the witness was detained to await a requisition from this State, resulting finally in her voluntary subjection to the jurisdiction of your committee, and in revelations of extortion and corruption which implicated many of the higher police officials of the city.

"In conclusion, your committee expresses the conviction that the testimony taken conclusively estab-

lishes an indictment against the police department of the city of New York as a whole. It establishes the necessity for a radical and basic reorganization by the elimination of those elements which may be found to be untrustworthy, inefficient and corrupt. The conclusion which has impressed itself upon your committee, however, is that the disorganizing elements at work in the police department are such that operate from the higher officials down, rather than from the patrolmen up.

"It is generally conceded that the municipal police are zealous and unsurpassed in efficiency and desire to protect life and property upon the highways of that city.

"It is a significant fact that but little corruption has been traced into the pockets of the ordinary patrolman, and that such sins as may be laid at his door largely consist in abuse of physical force, infringement upon the rights and privileges of private citizens, and omission to disclose the criminal conduct of his superiors. It is probable and even certain from the testimony, that a large number of patrolmen have paid sums averaging $300 for appointment. It is not strange that starting in this way, some of them have imitated the examples of their superiors and should have become victims to a most pernicious and criminal practice. But it would be manifestly unfair, because of the proof of isolated

cases to arraign all the force under one general charge. On the contrary, your committee believes that a very large proportion of the patrolmen of the city, and a considerable number of their superiors are good officers and true, reliable and incorruptible men, whose conduct in guarding their honor, despite the example set by their superiors and their associates, marks the mas men to be especially commended, and in any reorganization of the force to be particularly honored by retention and promotion, and we recommend that in any plan of reorganization which may be adopted, special stress should be laid upon this, because, in this way more than in any other, will the esprit de corps and the future efficiency of the force be subserved.

Some of the abuses which have been shown to prevail will now be specifically referred to.

Brutality

"It was proven by a stream of witnesses who poured continuously into the sessions of the committee, that many of the members of the force, and even superior officers, have abused the resources of physical power which have been provided for them and their use only in cases of necessity in the making of arrests and the restraint of disorder, to gratify personal spite and brutal instincts, and to reduce their victims to a condition of servility. This con-

dition has grown to such an extent that even in the eyes of our foreign-born residents our institutions have been degraded, and those who have fled from oppression abroad have come here to be doubly oppressed in a professedly free and liberal country. The harm thus done by engendering bitterness and hatred in the minds of multitudes of those people who look upon the police as the highest expression of governmental power, and their consequent inducement to phases of radicalism, thus forced upon them, cannot be estimated.

"An impressive spectacle was presented to us one day in the presence of about 100 patrolmen in uniform, who during the period of three preceding years, had been convicted by the police commissioners of unprovoked and unwarranted assaults on citizens, amounting to crimes of assault in the second and third degree. Some of them had been convicted of such assaults as many as two or three times, and yet had never been suspended from duty. Some of these outrages had been perpetrated upon women and children. Occasionally the victims had received permanent injuries and disfigurements.

"In the period from January 1, 1891, to May 1, 1894, 108 policemen had been convicted of offenses amounting to crimes, of which forty-eight were felonies. In four of these cases sentences was dismissal. In nine fines of thirty days' pay. In thirteen

fines of from ten to fifteen days pay, and in all other cases, fines of from two to ten days pay.

The charges which were adjudged to be true, showed twelve cases of criminal neglect of duty; twenty of oppression; one each of indecent exposure, burglary and attempt at rape; fifty-six of assault in the third degree, and forty-five of assault in the second degree. In one case the testimony which the commissioners accepted as true revealed a crime against nature, and the officer was convicted of assault, but was only fined three days pay, and afterwards was permitted to resign. The police commissioners themselves testified that they had never moved in the direction of a further prosecution of these crimes, and it appears that very few criminal prosecutions have occurred prior to the work of your committee.

"It appears, therefore, that the police formed a separate and highly privileged class, armed with the authority and the machinery for oppression and punishment, but practically free themselves from the operation of the criminal law.

"It is a significant fact that in the administration of their judicial functions, the police officials appear to consider the violation of their rules and regulations as a graver offense than the commission of crime. The dozen or more sentences of dismissal each year are generally for violations of rules, or

for drunkenness. Only one dismissal was ordered in three years for the clubbing of a private citizen. This is the situation, although the accused officers were found guilty in most cases.

"Besides this exhibit of convicted clubbers, still wearing the uniform of the force, there was a stream of victims of police brutality who testified before your committee. The eye of one man, punched out by a patrolman's club, hung on his cheek. Others were brought before the committee, fresh from their punishment covered with blood and bruises, and in some cases battered out of recognition. Witnesses testified to severe assaults upon them while under arrest in the station houses, and one witness, a journalist of established reputation, testified that he had been clubbed by an inspector without cause, and that a captain, now an inspector, without reason or provocation, assaulted him with brass knuckles while he was a prisoner in the station-house, and severely injured him.

"This line of testimony might have been endlessly pursued by your committee, but coming as it did from the mouths of so many witnesses testifying under the circumstances which surrounded them, in many cases unwillingly and with evident fear, was sufficient to carry conviction with it and fasten a stigma on the department, and especially on those who, having its discipline in their control, have man-

aged it with utter disregard of the plain constitutional rights of the people.

"We emphasize this finding of brutality because it affects every citizen, whatever his condition, because it shows an invasion of constitutional liberty by one of the departments of government, whose supreme duty it is to enforce the law, and because it establishes a condition of affairs gravely imperiling the safety and the welfare of the people in their daily avocations and the pursuit of happiness.

"The patrolman is not alone responsible for this situation. It is clear from the testimony that superior offices have furnished the example. It may well be asked, what conception of the rights of the private citizen is conveyed to the ordinary patrolman when those who sit in judgment on his acts consider an unprovoked assault upon a private citizen as fully vindicated by the imposition of a fine of a few days' pay.

Blackmail

"The consideration of this subject occupied by far the greater part of the time. The nature of the offense is such as to render its proof by direct testimony a matter of great difficulty. The assumed bad character of the person paying blackmail, the difficulty of obtaining admissions, and then of substantiating such statements by corroborative evi-

dence were elements of peculiar embarrassment. It is due largely to these circumstances that the police for many years have been able to ply this traffic with substantial impunity, and with a reckless disregard of decency, based largely upon the assumption that the only witnesses against them would receive no credence from either court or public.

Disorderly Houses

"The first tangible evidence of the payment of blackmail by a keeper of a disorderly house was given by Charles Prien, and his testimony was promptly followed by several others, including Augusta Thurow, whose convincing story subsequently caused the trial by the police commissioners and the dismissal of several officers.

"The circumstances attending the appearance of these persons before the committee, their evident dread of the consequences of exposure, their manner of testifying, coupled with the fact that their houses had remained open, and that they had been unmolested by the police for a long period of time, convinced your committee of the truthfulness of their statements. Particularly convincing was the testimony of more than one witness upon this question, who, after vainly endeavoring to shield the police from exposure, had finally broken under severe cross-examination, and then revealed the true state of

affairs, supported in some instances by entries of payments (made simultaneously with the transaction) in books of account. Testimony of this character, at first so difficult to procure, became finally so large in volume that a very considerable part of it was omitted from the record because the subsequent confessions of implicated ward men, sergeants and captains rendered further examination into this branch of the case unnecessary. The testimony upon this subject, taken as a whole, establishes conclusivey the fact that this variety of vice was regularly and systematically licensed by the police of the city. The system had reached such a perfection in detail that the inmates of the several houses were numbered and classified and a ratable charge placed upon each proprietor in proportion to the number of inmates, or in cases of houses of assignation the number of rooms occupied and the prices charged, reduced to a monthly rate, which was collected within a few days of the first of each month during the year. This was true apparently with reference to all disorderly houses, except in the case of a few specially favored ones. The prices ran from $25 to $50 monthly, depending upon the considerations aforesaid, besides fixed sums for the opening of new houses or the resumption of 'business' in old or temporarily abandoned houses, and for 'intiation fees' designed as an additional gratuity to captains

upon their transfer into new precincts. The established fee for opening and initiation appears to have been $500.

"Your committee was particularly fortunate because of the condition in which these unfortunate people found themselves at the time of the investigation into this branch.

"The evidence shows clearly that raids made by detectives of the City Vigilance League, and the arrests caused by them, and an aroused public sentiment, had compelled the police authorities to some degree of activity. The demands of blackmailing officials had increased until these people found that all of their gains were being wrested from them in the form of extortion. They had been compelled, too, during the autumn of 1893, to close at times, had been then permitted to reopen, as they testified, 'on the quiet,' had become impoverished by systematic exactions, and when finally your committee was appointed the protection promised them had been withdrawn temporarily, and their houses closed under the promise that as soon as your committee had performed its labors they would be permitted to reopen. In the meanwhile their resources failed them, and as time went on they found themselves confronted by conditions that rendered a reopening of their houses impracticable.

"It was this condition which probably more than

any other fact was instrumental in securing their testimony before your committee.

"As an evidence of the perfect system to which this traffic has been reduced, your committee refers to that part of the testimony which shows that in more than one instance the police officials refused to allow keepers of disorderly houses to discontinue their business, threatening them with persecution if they attempted so to do, and substantially expounding the proposition that they were there for the purpose of making money to share with the police. As an evidence of the extraordinary conditions to which this system had given rise, it is proper to call your attention to the fact that in a number of cases women, who, as keepers of disorderly houses, had paid thousands of dollars for police protection, had become reduced to the verge of starvation, while those who had exacted blackmail from them were living in luxury in houses that had been furnished out of the earnings of these women, or they were wearing ornaments of jewelry purchased by them; and even the furniture of their houses had been paid for by those whom they had protected in the commission of crime.

The evidence establishes, furthermore, that not only the proprietors of disorderly houses paid for their illegal privileges, but the outcasts of society paid patrolmen on post for permission to solicit on

the public highways, dividing their gains with them, and, often, as appears by proof, when brought before the police magistrates and committed to the penitentiary for disorderly conduct in default of bail, they compounded their sentence, and secured bail by paying $10 or $15 to the clerk of the court, or his agents, and were then released again to ply their calling and to become victimized as before.

"One of these witnesses had been arrested in this manner more than one hundred times in the course of one year, and had on each occasion secured release by these means. Her testimony, and that of others of the same class, strongly indicated that they were impressed with the conviction that there was nothing unsual in this mode of treatment; and they referred to the officers—one of them a captain—in terms that implied rather affection than resentment.

The evidence, furthermore, shows, that in some of the houses of the character described, visitors were systematically robbed, and when they made complaint at the station-house the man detailed to examine into the charge failed to arrest the perpetrator, and frightened the victim off by threats, and then returned and received his compensation, an equal division of the plunder between the thief and the officer.

"The testimony taken as a whole, conclusively establishes that the social evil was, and probably still

is, fostered and protected by the police of the city, even to the extent of inducing its votaries to continue their illegal practices, maintaining substantially a partnership with them in the traffic, absorbing the largest part of the resulting profit.

"A circumstance which is especially significant is that a large number of witnesses testified that the control of the police over their traffic was so complete that without protection they would not have attempted to ply their trade, and that it required only the word of the captain, transmitted to them through his wardman, to close their houses immediately.

"This would probably be a necessary deduction from the facts already stated, but it is furthermore corroborated by the testimony of at least one police captain, who maintained that he was able to close all the disreputable houses in his precinct within three months, and that any other captain might readily do the same.

Gambling

"The various forms of gambling testified to before your committee were pool-rooms, policy shops, and what is ordinarily understood as gambling.

The evidence is conclusive that with reference to this class of vice the police occupied substantially

the same position as they did with respect to disorderly houses.

"The policy business seems to have been conducted on a vast scale and under well understood geographical limitations, each subdivision being assigned to certain favored individuals known as 'policy kings' who backed with capital and ran the shops in the particular districts assigned to them.

"It was proven even that while the committee was actually in session more than 600 policy shops were in active operation in the city, running openly, and from day to day policy slips were secured in some shops in different portions of the city by detectives in the employ of your committee.

Qualified witnesses swore that the general average of open shops was about 1,000. The testimony disclosed the remarkable fact that not only were these violators of the law protected by the police in consideration of a fixed sum of $15 a month per shop, but that the area of operation of each 'king' was so clearly understood and carefully guarded, that any intruder would be certified to the police, and would either be compelled to refrain from competition with a licensed 'policy king,' or else would be arrested and condign punishment would be visited upon him.

"It seems clear from the evidence that this division of territory was largely for the benefit of the

THE RUSH TO AID THE FARMER

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police, insuring a more rapid and easier collection of the tribute to be paid, the 'policy king' to whom a particular district had been assigned paying in bulk at the rate of $15 per shop for all the shops running in such district or districts.

"Pool-rooms flourished all over the city in the same way. Large sums were extorted from their proprietors by the police, and they were permitted to remain unmolested, openly and publicly running, until a private citizen, Richard Croker, after a conference with a police commissioner, enforced their cessation practically in a single day. This is one of the most remarkable circumstances testified to before your committee.

"A police commissioner, in office at the time of the closing of these pool-rooms, testified that his attention had been directed to the open and notorious manner in which pool-rooms were being run, admitted that it was generally understood and rumored that they were so run under police protection for financial considerations, and yet nothing was done or attempted to be done until the private citizen aforesaid commanded that they be closed; and they were closed, and closed without criminal prosecution.

"It appeared subsequently in evidence that these pool-rooms, while running, had been assessed and had paid for police protection as high as $300 a month.

Green Goods

"Green goods swindlers and victims added their story of police blackmail and protection. The same method of subdividing the city into districts seems to have been adopted with reference to this class of crime. From their evidence and abundant corroboration, it appears conclusively that a heavy traffic of this kind has been systematically carried on by these swindlers, who, in exchange for protection, shared a large part of their ill-gotten gains with the police. Not only did they pay regular monthly sums for protection, but where victims 'squealed' the police, either ward or headquarter detectives, demanded one-half of the plunder.

"It appears that this class of crime had its ramifications extending over the whole country; that the perpetrators called to their aid not only the protection of the police, but also the assistance of employes in post and telegraph offices; and it appears very clearly that, except for the concurrence of all three, this kind of criminal traffic could not exist in its present form.

"The attitude of the police to this class of vice seems to have been substantially the same as that with respect to policy shops.

"The nature of the business, as demonstrated before the committee, makes it impossible that a

vigilant policeman could remain in ignorance of its operations, and in fact, the principal operators are well known to the public.

"The evidence indicated that the first step in the initiation of business of this character was to establish relations with the captain of the precinct in which the work was carried on; and it was shown that one captain in particular, whose alleged sickness prevented his appearance before your committee in the last stages of the inquiry (and it may be added that there were many other similarly situated) was so agreeable to the green goods operators that they followed him in his various transfers from precinct to precinct.

"Your committee calls special attention to this class of protected lawlessness, for the reason that it is a grave crime, involving a high degree of moral turpitude, and it appears not only that it received protection from the police, but that moreover victims who made complaint were treated by the police with scant courtesy, or in the words of a number of the witnesses, the police 'put a scare into them,' and then proceeded to divide the 'swag.'

"It appears, moreover, that men notoriously engaged in the swindling or confidence business had their headquarters in the city, known to the police, where they might be ordinarily found, and that those who were receiving protection plied their trade un-

molested, while others, who had not been fortunate enough to establish relations with the police, or those who intruded upon districts not assigned to them, would be warned off, and in case of failure to obey, would be summarily dealt with.

Violation of the Excise Laws

"The position of those who violate the provisions of the excise law is somewhat peculiar. It appears that until some time in 1892 they paid a regular stipend to the police, either for protection in the violation of the law, or for immunity from police interference in respect to the conduct of their business on the border line between legitimate and illegitimate practice.

"It appears that these contributions were considered a part of the ordinary and regular expenses of the business. In one case the account books of a dealer were produced which contained monthly entries of the payment of $20 to the precinct detectives as a part of the business expenses, and his testimony showed that he paid that sum to the police monthly 'because it was always done,' and was 'the established custom.'

"In another case, a member of the Bohemian Liquor Dealers Association testified that they gave and made contributions from their treasury for the captain of the precinct, whom they refer to in their

minutes as the 'Pantata,' and whose protection in doing an illicit business they thus obtained. When questioned as to the reasons for forming the association they admitted that it had been done at the instance of the precinct detective, in order to simplify the collection of the tribute to be paid. The testimony abounds with instances of this kind of exactions, forced in more recent times, especially from the poor and weak.

"As hereinbefore referred to, some time in 1892, a change was made in the then existing conditions, and orders were issued putting substantially and end to this class of blackmail through the instrumentality of the liquor dealers association, who entered into an alliance with the dominant faction, and upon terms which your committee could not discover, obtained substantial immunity for members of the association, who, as testified to by the president, thereafter violated and were now violating the law, practically without interference by the municipal authorities.

Detectives, Pawnbrokers and Thieves

"It has been conclusively shown that an understanding existed between headquarters' detectives, pawnbrokers and thieves, by which stolen property may be promptly recovered by the owner on condition that he repay the pawnbroker the amount ad-

vanced on the stolen property. In every such case, which appears in evidence, the detective seems to have acted rather in the interest of securing the pawnbroker's advances than of securing the absolute return of the stolen property. The only reasonable grounds assigned were those of convenience and expeditious return of the property. But it must be clear that this custom offers a premium for theft, and a substantial inducement to pawnbrokers to make stolen property available by loaning or advancing, substantial sums upon it.

"Under the general powers of visitation and inspection which the police possesses in reference to pawnbrokers' establishments, there is no reason for the prevalence of this custom, and proper activity, turned into the right channels, making the disposition of stolen property less easy, would probably largely reduce the crime.

"In almost every instance it also appears that the detective, acting between the owner and the pawnbroker, receives substantial gratuities from the owner of the property for the work done in his official capacity. In some cases these gratuities were received without demand. Others were the result of demand on the part of detectives. In very many cases, the amount of the pawnbrokers' advances added to the gratuities paid to the detectives,

equalled, and, in some cases, exceeded the value of the article recovered.

"The reasonable conclusion deducible from the evidence, establishes the prevalence of the custom that in order to secure the return of stolen properties, a donation or reward must be paid to the headquarters' detective.

"This custom is in direct conflict with rule number 142 of the department, which provides that the police shall not receive rewards, presents or testimonials, except for services both meritorious and extraordinary, and then only by resolution of the board of police; and that such reward must be deposited with the treasurer, who shall deduct twenty or twenty-five per cent., according to the amount of the reward, for the benefit of the police pension fund.

"The total amount paid into the police pension fund under this rule was only $438.25 for the five years ending with 1894; and the amount of authorized rewards for those five years was, therefore, not more than $2,200 for the entire force; showing plainly that this rule had been flagrantly and openly violated during all that time.

"The custom referred to is not only in conflict with the salutory rule aforesaid, but amounts to an extortion, because it is contemplated by law that public officers shall render their best services for the

salaries they receive and have no right to demand or receive compensation beyond that.

"Especially is this the case with the police force of the city of New York, which is concededly the best paid force in the world.

Abortionists

"A very revolting revelation was that which showed that professional abortionists were permitted to ply their awful trade, submitting to be plucked by the police from time to time.

"One notorious 'doctor' was bled to the amount of $2,825 in six weeks, and his case implicated headquarters' detectives, a sergeant in command of a police squad and a police justice.

Other Crimes

"It was impossible for your committee to cover every phase of crime receiving protection from the police, but enough appears upon the record to indicate that other crimes than those disclosed contributed to the fund of corruption.

"One witness, a business man of apparently good reputation, testified that he and his father were arrested on the charge of murder, and that the officer who had the case in hand offered to save his father for $500, and on the demand being rejected actually aided in attempting to secure his conviction.

Legitimate Business

"But the evidence of blackmail and extortion does not rest alone on the evidence of criminals or persons accused of the commission of crime. It has been abundantly proven that boot-blacks, push-cart and fruit venders, as well as keepers of soda water stands, corner grocerymen, sailmakers with flag-poles extending a few feet beyond the place which they occupy, box-makers, provision dealers, wholesale dry-goods merchants and builders, who are compelled at times to use the sidewalk and street, steamboat and steamship companies, who require police service on their docks, those who give public exhibitions, and in fact all persons, and all classes of persons whose business is subject to the observation of the police, or who may be reported as violating ordinances, or who may require the aid of the police, all have to contribute in substantial sums to the vast amounts which flow into the station-houses, and which, after leaving something of the nature of a deposit, then flow on higher.

"This tide is not supplied alone by private citizens, but members of the police force pay for choice posts and positions, and the stream has been traced to the captains and to the inspectors of districts; the commerce of the port even is taxed when the functions of the police department touch it, so that

shippers are compelled to submit to exactions in the city of New York that they do not meet with in any other port.

"These exactions are not sporadic or isolated or unusual. They seem to be the habit and custom. It is claimed by the police that these exactions are gratuities, chargeable to the citizens who thus have stimulated the habit, and have even tempted poor policemen to err in receiving unlawful wages.

"Be this as it may, the proof before your committee shows that the hand of the policeman, the precinct detective and the captain is not extended to the citizen in humble supplication or unwilling compliance, but rather that it is thrust at him with threats, and that non-compliance is often visited by condign punishment, so that business men appreciating the difficulty of obtaining justice, fearful of petty annoyances and embarrassments, submit rather to extortion than pursue a systematic resistance which they feel might result in greater injury.

"This custom has spread so as to include excise officials, as appears by the evidence adduced before your committee, and may for convenience be designated 'constructive extortion."

Oppression

"Oppression of the lowly and unfortunate, the coinage of money out of the miseries of life is one

of the noteworthy abuses into which the department has fallen. Policemen and prison-keepers stand in with disreputable men and take advantage of their power over prisoners and their helplessness, to force upon them unworthy and unprincipled men who extort fees and divide them with their official allies.

"The evidence of many witnesses shows the existence of a powerful conspiracy in the neighborhood of Essex Market police court, headed by politicians, including criminals, professional bondsmen, professional thieves, police and others who lay plots against the unwary, and lead them into habits of law-breaking, or surround them with a network of false evidence, and then demand money as the price of salvation, and if they do not receive it, drag their victims into court and prison, and often to a convict's cell. Men whose poverty has prevented them and who have repudiated compliance with their demands, yielded when torn away from wife and children, and have borrowed from friends and pawned their personal effects to raise the required moneys, and have then been released. One man who could not raise the required amount of money was advised to pawn his wife. In another case a husband and father being illegally confined, pending extortionate demands, his little child passed the night in the street near the station-house and refused to go while his father lay in jail. In another case Mrs. Urchittel, a

humble Russian Jewess, ignorant of our tongue, an honest and impoverished widow with three small children whom she was striving to support, was falsely accused by a precinct detective of keeping a disorderly house in the back room of her little store where she and her little children slept, and he demanded a sum of money which she could not pay, whereupon he took her from her home, dragged her through the the streets until 3 o'clock in the morning, pulled down and searched her stockings for money, until she in despair produced all that she had saved for her month's rent. This being insufficient, he gave her a short time to obtain the balance and she tried to sell her store, but failed, and then he arrested her again, lodged a false and infamous charge against her, fastened it upon her by the testimony of miserable tools whom he had employed for the purpose, and secured her conviction. Her children passed into the hands of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. Her fine was paid by selling her store, and she was released, only to fall into a severe and lingering illness. When she recovered, her home was gone, her children were gone, and she was penniless.

"For more than a year before your committee met she had been vainly endeavoring to obtain her children. She was brought before your committee and the facts in the case and the guilt of the precinct

detectives were fully established. Her children were voluntarily surrendered to her, and she was at last cleared of the outrageous charge under which she had so long suffered.

Confessions of Officers

"If any doubt remains as to the conclusiveness of the evidence upon the various matters hereinbefore set forth, the confessions made in the last stages of the investigation finally dissipated them.

"The confessions of Wardman Shalvey, of Sergeant Taylor, and of Captain Schmidtberger, amply corroborated the testimony theretofore taken, and removed the one uncertainty which clouded the testimony given by keepers of disorderly houses.

"This remarkable fact appeared in evidence by many witnesses, that notwithstanding the payment of large sums for protection, the houses of the persons so paying had, nevertheless, been 'pulled' by captains to whom and to whose ward detectives the alleged protection money had been regularly paid.

"This apparent contradiction was explained by Captain Schmidtberger, who testified that the agreement between the captains and keepers of disorderly houses, or other vicious or criminal resorts, was, that they should receive protection only in case their houses were run in a quiet and unobtrusive manner, and in case no public complaints were made against

them; that in default of these conditions they would be just as liable to police interference as though no protection money had been paid.

"This disposed of the one apparent contradiction which remained to be reconciled.

"The confessions summarized show the existence throughout the city of a system so well regulated and understood that upon the assignment of a new captain no conversation was necessary to instruct the precinct detectives or wardmen as to their line of conduct. Without a word they collected the illicit revenue, simplifying their duties as much as they could, either by granting monopolies of a special kind of crime to individuals, or imposing upon certain individuals who had knowledge of a particular class of crime, the obligation of collecting for them, thus collecting monthly from all licensed vice and crime, and paying over their collections to the captain, deducting for their services twenty per cent. from the total. Or, rather, at first, paying the whole to the captain, and receiving twenty per cent. back from him, and thereafter making the deductions themselves. The captain, on his side, visited the inspector and paid over to him a substantial proportion of the amount collected.

"It appears, in fact, that this was the primary and main function of the precinct detective or wardman, and now that the confessions have been made, it ap-

pears that this was so well understood throughout the department that the wardman was called the captain's 'collector.'

"A remarkable fact is, that notwithstanding the developments before your committee, this practice continued to exist until the office of wardman was abolished by resolution of the board of police, and exactions of the kind considered were made and paid, although in rapidly diminishing amounts, as late as October of last year.

"Just to what extent the inspectors are implicated it was impossible for your committee to determine. Sergeant Taylor testified that the bulk of his collections were handed over to the inspector in whose district he was stationed. Captain Schmidtberger testified to the payment of considerable amounts to his immediate superior.

"The conclusion seems irresistible upon the record, that the system proven to have existed included in its operations the precinct detectives, or wardmen, the captains and the inspectors of police.

Purchase of Appointments

"Until the confession of Captain Creedon of the purchase of his appointment, your committee had been unable to prove by direct evidence the existence of that evil. Much appeared in the testimony pointing to methods employed for the evasion of the civil

service regulations. Much testimony was secured from citizens who had loaned candidates, at about the time of their appointment, exactly $300.

"There was, in fact, enough evidence from which it could be reasonably inferred that there were brokers and others engaged in the traffic of securing police appointments, who had established $300 as the average cost. Just how this money was divided; just how high it or part of it went, it was impossible for your committee to determine. Witnesses who might have thrown light upon this question successfully evaded the process of your committee.

"It may be that a large part of these exactions remained with the brokers or district leaders, who assumed to have peculiar influence over those instrumental in the various stages leading to appointments.

"There was evidence tending to show the use of money or influence at each stage. The manner in which the civil service examinations have been conducted, the deceptions practiced upon those in charge by personating candidates, false certificates and other devices, all lead to the conclusion that the present method is fatally defective.

"It was testified to before your committee, and we have had occular demonstration of the fact that the recent appointments to the force do not compare favorably with the older officers in character, in intelligence or in physical condition.

THE THREATENED DISRUPTION

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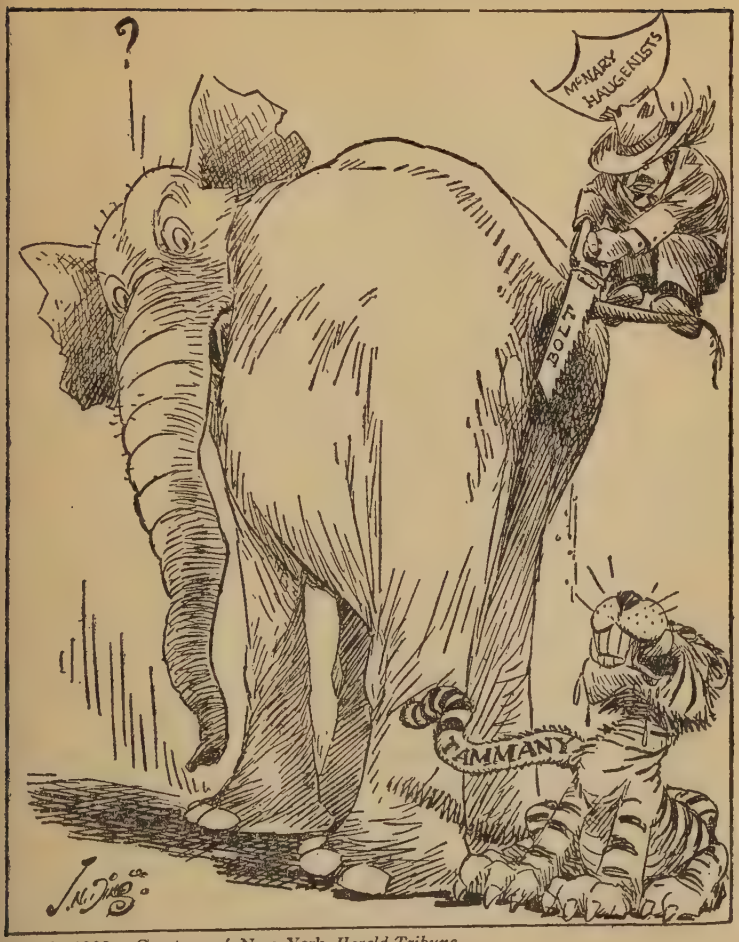

June 8, 1928. Courtesy of New York *Herald-Tribune.*

"Captain Creedon's confession of the payment of $15,000 to secure a promotion to a captaincy in his case, and Captain Schmidtberger's testimony confessing that he had been the go-between in securing the appointment of another captain, in consideration of the payment of $12,000, establishes at least, the prevalence of that evil.

"To what extent it has been carried on may only be conjectured. But it seems to be a reasonable conclusion, in view of these facts, and the wealth of officers, that other promotions have been made the subject of barter and sale. In fact, the testimony shows that the general impression throughout the force is not only that every man must pay for his appointment, but that promotion can only be secured either by the payment of money, or the possession of special influence. Thus it appears that many self-respecting men who testified as witnesses, admitted that they had never sought promotion because they knew that unless they paid money to secure it, their attempts would be fruitless.

"Captain Creedon testified that on two previous occasions he had sought to secure well-merited promotion, but that in each case he had been advised that his labor would be fruitless, unless he purchased the influence necessary to secure the result.

Demoralization of the Force

"It is due, in the judgment of your committee, mainly to the prevalence of the practices last mentioned, that the police force of the city has reached its present state of demoralization.

"The policeman who pays for his appointment commences his career with the commission of a crime and it is not strange that the demoralization thus engendered should follow him in his further career. The captain who pays a fortune for his appointment finds himself compelled to recoup in order to return the moneys loaned to him by his friends by resorting to the practices which have been disclosed in the record before us. It seems incredible that men who are otherwise law-abiding and efficient, should stoop to the perpetration of the monstrous and debasing practices revealed by this record, unless influenced by a system existing as the result of the conditions hereinbefore alluded to. Nor is it strange that in the contemplation of these practices by superior officers, inferior members of the force should have become demoralized until the contamination has spread throughout the entire department.

Interference of Politicians

"From what appears by the foregoing, one of the main disorganizing forces has been the interference

of politicians and district leaders with the machinery of the department.

"Notably within recent years political interference has been a prevalent evil. We have referred to instances of interference in previous portions of this report. But not only does it appear that appointments have been made largely as the result of political influence, but even the president of the board testified that he was largely controlled by political considerations in the making of his appointments, and that district leaders, as appears from the testimony of Civil Justice Roesch, deem it a part of their duty, as political leaders, to interest themselves in securing appointments, promotions, transfers and assignments of men from place to place in various precincts.

"It appeared in one instance where a policeman had sought to enforce the law on his beat near one of the polling-places, a district leader interfered, and he was forthwith transferred to an up-town district to watch a board fence. Similar interferences abound throughout the record.

"While, as compared with the more startling subjects hereinbefore discussed, this would seem to be of trifling importance; it appears, nevertheless, to your committee to be one of the main evils of the present system.

"It is in our opinion, imperative to eliminate the

influence of political bodies and political leaders from contact with a policeman in his appointment, his duty, his assignment and transfer, and his promotion to higher positions.

Pensions

"An important subject for legislative consideration is that of pensions. As the law now reads, an officer may compel his own retirement at half pay for life, when he has served twenty years, and the board may enforce the retirement of a man when he reaches sixty years of age, against his will, allowing him the same pension.

"There are to-day on the pension list of the department over seven hundred retired officers, many of whom are physically able and thoroughly qualified to render effective police service; many of them are anxious to remain on duty; many others are engaged in active business, while receiving half pay from the city. Indeed, in several cases, pensioners of the New York force are doing active police duty in other cities.

"There are on the active force now more than 500 men who have reached the time limit of twenty years' service, and in a very large number of these cases applications for retirement are now pending.

"Expenditure for pensions in 1885 was $250,000. Now it is nearly $600,000, and the prospective in-

crease, owing to the large number of applicants, is very great.

Finances

"No special examination of the finances of the department was made, for lack of time, but it may be well to call attention to the fact that the annual appropriation for the police force amounts now to more than $5,000,000, paid by the Comptroller to one of the commissioners of police, who is treasurer of the board, in equal semi-monthly payments, and that all payments out of such appropriations are made by such treasurer, whose accounts are neither examined nor audited by any one of the financial officers of the city; that the board lets out contract work without competitive bidding, securing the privilege so to do by resolution of the board of aldermen.

"It thus follows that the department is free from all check or oversight with reference to an expenditure of over $5,000,000 annually."

RULE BY CABLE

CHAPTER VIII

RULE BY CABLE

To make possible the satisfying of Tammany's greed for money the organization had to control elections which it did with repeaters, filling the election boards with Tammany members and beating up and intimidating any who opposed the organization, while the police looked on and sometimes aided.

Croker returned to this country after the Lexow investigation and saw Tammany defeated in the 1894 election and William L. Strong elected mayor. The Boss had kept out of this election after having opposed Cleveland for president in 1892. Croker went abroad again and returned in the summer of 1897 and assumed the reins of Tammany, much to the disgust of some of his subordinates. He ran Robert A. Van Wyck, a little known judge, for mayor and elected him and Tammany again resumed his favorite pastime of grabbing the city government. On election night the denizens of the Tenderloin paraded, the underworld openly flaunting its glee over Van Wyck's election.

Van Wyck appointed William S. Devery, a police

captain, one of the open supporters of graft and vice, as chief of police and he accelerated the speed through which the police collections from the underworld were made. Devery, as a captain, had refused to take notice of complaints against the lawlessness and finally was removed as police chief by the Republican legislature which abolished the position. But Croker cabled Van Wyck from abroad to appoint him police commissioner and Devery again resumed his rule.

In his closing years Croker found the rising of "Big Tim" Sullivan an obstruction in his path but he did not come out in the open with his dislike for the powerful Bowery leader who ruled his district through the use of repeaters when necessary to deliver the vote.

Croker, now an old man, lived at a club while in this country and still tried to retain his control of Tammany, many of whose leaders were silently opposing him because he had adopted an attitude of culture and residence abroad.

In 1898 Croker fought Theodore Roosevelt but the man who later was to be president was elected governor of the State. Then came the Mazet investigation and again Tammany was in disgrace and again Croker returned from Europe to lead his cohorts in their attempt to keep their claws on the city. Again Tammany was ousted by a reform ad-

ministration and Croker soon retired from politics. Tammany was getting disgusted with its leader who, because of his wealth, his aping of culture and his interest in things foreign, was more a hindrance than help to the organization. Croker was being hailed by the public as the outstanding exponent of graft and no one regretted his retirement.

But Croker had not retired without following the custom established by "Honest" John Kelly, his predecessor. He also had knifed Democratic presidential candidates. Tammany had opposed Grover Cleveland in 1892 and when Bryan was candidate the first time the Tammany tomahawk was used on him. When Bryan was nominated, George Washington Plunkett, the bootblack stand sage of Tammany, was asked what Tammany would do toward supporting the Democratic ticket.

"Free silver or free gold or free anything else may be all right but that ain't the point. We want to know what we are going to get from these people. We don't care anything about this currency question. We just want to know what Bryan and Sewell will do for the New York Democrats if we support the ticket. We don't give a damn for the money question but we must know what we are going to get out of an indorsement of the ticket."

And that was Tammany's attitude toward its party candidates always. "What are we going to

get out of it?" was the first cry of the Wigwam.

And Croker echoed that sentiment:

"What's the use of discussing what's the best kind money?" the Boss wanted to know. "I'm in favor of all kinds. The more the better."

And that was another primary Tammany sentiment reëchoed at the close of Croker's reign as it had been announced at its start.

Mrs. Croker died and the Boss returned from abroad to attend her funeral. A short time later he married Miss Bula Edmondson. They retired to Florida to live and after many law suits with his children, went to Ireland where he died April 29, 1922. He was buried in a vault on his estate which he had erected and one of his last requests was that his horse "Orby," a Derby winner, be buried near him.

Orby had fulfilled one of Croker's ambitions when he won the Derby but that winning had caused him a snub by King Edward who did not invite Croker to the Derby dinner, an unprecedented slight.

CHARLES FRANCIS MURPHY

CHAPTER IX

CHARLES FRANCIS MURPHY

AFTER a brief setback when Tammany candidates were defeated in the last election personally directed by Richard Croker, the organization regained power and corruption again became rampant. Gambling and prostitution, protected by the police, went on apace despite the election of reform or fusion officials in the high places.

Croker had bequeathed his toga and scepter to Lewis Nixon but that gentleman resigned as chairman of Tammany Hall within four months because he found the District leaders paid no attention to his mandates until the new chief's orders had been "oked" by cable from Croker's retreat in Ireland.

Mr. Nixon, a graduate of the United States Naval Academy, asserted that he could no longer remain as leader of Tammany Hall and retain his own self-respect.

"Every important act of mine," he said, "has been cabled to Europe before it became effective. Mr. Freedman (chairman of the sub-committee on finance and close friend of the absent Croker) and

his party interfered with me at every turn, and at last sought to dictate to me whom I ought to place on the Board of Sachems.

"Then a cable would come direct to me from Wantage (Croker's estate) to place certain men on the Board of Sachems and when I rebelled, I found that at every turn I would be opposed by this coterie of interferers.

"I found that nearly all of my important acts had to be viséd before they became effective. Many of the district leaders would accept my orders, but before carrying them out, they would get advice from Mr. Croker."

The withdrawal of Nixon brought Charles Francis Murphy into the limelight. Murphy, as leader of the old Gas House district of New York, had been an important cog in the Croker machine. In fact, he had held the post of dock commissioner—treasurer of that body—and was reputed to be worth a million dollars when he was selected by Tammany to be one of a triumvirate to rule Tammany after Nixon resigned. The others of that trio were Daniel F. McMahon and Louis F. Haffen.

That was in 1902 and it was not long before Murphy emerged as individual boss of the Wigwam. He was perhaps the first Tammany leader since the Civil War to cast covetous eyes toward the White House and it was largely due to his groundwork in

the years preceding the famous 1924 Democratic National Convention that Governor Smith won the 1928 nomination.

Murphy was born on June 20, 1858. Like Croker, he became a leader among his boy companions because of his great strength. He also played baseball well and organized a team which gained considerable fame in the neighborhood. One of seven children, Charley Murphy worked at various jobs, such as handy man in a saloon and as driver on a horse-car. With his first $500 he opened a saloon and in a few years was the proprietor of a chain of four saloons.

Displaying a keen interest in ward politics, he rose to the post of assistant to his district leader and inherited the job when Edward Hagan died in 1892. He became leader of Tammany Hall in 1902 and continued to rule the New York city and state Democracy until his death in April, 1924—a few months before the memorable Madison Square convention. His estate was estimated in excess of $2,000,000. The only job he ever held after entering politics was that of dock commissioner during the administration of Mayor Van Wyck.

Murphy's tenure as Tammany boss was marked by many difficulties—battles with William Randolph Hearst, the newspaper publisher—inquiries into the official conduct of the several Borough Presidents—

the murder of Herman Rosenthal, the gambler—the impeachment of Governor Sulzer—his own indictment.

Murphy seldom talked for publication. He was liberal in his charities. The former appealed to the more powerful of the district leaders and the latter won him many friends in the rank and file of New York Democracy.

He selected George B. McClellan as his first candidate for Mayor in 1903 and elected him over the combined opposition of the Seth Low fusion party and the independent candidacy of "Bill" Devery, Deputy Police Commissioner, who ran on an anti-Tammany platform.

Devery made things interesting for Murphy by making countless charges against the Tammany chieftain.

"He's goin' through the bluff of being decent but look at his record on the old Dock Board," Devery said of Murphy. "Does that look as if he's dying for his feller man? He's for Murphy, and he ain't satisfied to use his hands. He wants to get in and use a steam shovel."

William Randolph Hearst, sometimes a supporter of Tammany and again a bitter enemy, took the field against Tammany soon after Murphy became the leader and aroused the public by charging that the operations of the New York Contracting

and Trucking Corporation showed the new methods used by Tammany to gather in the millions from contracts. This company had been formed by John J. Murphy, a brother of Charles F. Murphy, James E. Gaffney and Richard J. Crouch. Murphy consistently denied that he had any connection with or interest in the company.

Under Murphy it was charged Tammany Hall had turned from the open thefts of the Tweed days to a plan whereby the political leaders became partners in business enterprises and then compelled the awarding of large contracts to their companies.

The New York Contracting and Trucking Company obtained a $2,000,000 contract for excavating the site of the Pennsylvania Railroad Station. The Board of Aldermen had long refused to vote a franchise to the Pennsylvania for the use of city streets for tunnel approaches to the proposed new station. Rumor had it that the Aldermen wanted a large sum of money for granting the franchise. Be that as it may, the Board suddenly changed front and voted the franchise. Later it developed that the New York Contracting and Trucking Company had been given the contract to excavate the station site.

Another "juicy" contract awarded this company was for $6,000,000 for constructing the roadbed and tracks for the New York, New Haven and

Hartford Railroad into New York City. The contract subsequently was turned over by the New York Contracting and Trucking Company to another firm for a consideration of $500,000. Charles S. Mellen, then president of the railroad, testified before the Interstate Commerce Commission that the contract had been given to the Tammany concern "to avoid friction with the city."

Murphy's indictment followed a quarrel with a business partner, Louis N. Hartog. The two had formed a company to sell malt dextrine to the British government during the war but had fallen out and Murphy desired to withdraw an investment of $125,000. Hartog refused and Murphy sued him. Besides investing this sum Murphy, through his attorney, Arthur J. Baldwin, had been instrumental in obtaining a necessary supply of glucose for the business from the Corn Products Company.

The Tammany leader became worried, it was said, when his profits from the deal loomed "too" large—running, some estimates said, as high as $5,000 a day. At any rate Hartog and Murphy quarreled and eventually the two, along with several associates, were indicted. The indictments were subsequently dismissed on the grounds that the evidence was insufficient.

This did not end the trouble, for Hartog sued Murphy for $10,000,000, alleging a conspiracy to

BEGINNING TO GET SOME SERVICE

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prevent him from fulfilling his orders for malt dextrine. This occurred, it must be remembered, during the world war and Murphy's defense was a charge that Hartog was a war profiteer.

Addressing the jury, Max D. Steuer, counsel for Hartog, referred to Murphy in this manner: "Men crawl on their bellies in the dust for him. They have, and they will as long as he is in power."

The nomination and election of William Sulzer as governor in 1912 has been characterized Murphy's greatest mistake. Sulzer had been an active orator for Tammany and was expected to accept Murphy's suggestions and recommendations after he became governor. To Murphy's astonishment, Mr. Sulzer declined to make certain appointments, notably that of James E. Gaffney, a contractor, as State Highway Commissioner.

War was declared by Murphy and Gov. Sulzer, who thought he was bigger than Tammany, started an inquiry into corruption in various state departments. This was too much for Murphy and he ordered the legislature to refuse all of the governor's requests, and soon thereafter the impeachment proceedings were started. The charges against Sulzer were voluminous but in general were that he had not returned an accurate account of his campaign fund contributions and that he had used some of

the money donated for his campaign for his own personal use.

The Court of Impeachment voted Sulzer out of office on October 17, 1913. Sulzer sought a comeback later and did serve one term in the state legislature. He is a practicing lawyer to-day in New York City and is seldom heard of in political circles.

Murphy's methods in approaching public officials he felt he had created are illustrated, perhaps, in the following story told by Mr. Sulzer after his break with the Tammany Hall chief. Sulzer was lunching with Murphy in the chief's private room at Delmonico's just before leaving for Albany to assume the governorship.

"His attitude," Mr. Sulzer said, "was very friendly and confidential. He said he was my friend; that he knew of my financial condition and wanted to help me out. As he went on, I was amazed at his knowledge of my intimate personal affairs. To my astonishment, he informed me that he knew I was heavily in debt. Then he offered me enough money to pay my debts and have enough left to take things easy while governor. He said that this was really a party matter and that the money he would give me was party money . . . and that nobody would know anything about it; that I could pay what I owed and go to Albany feeling easy financially.

He then asked me how much I needed, to whom I owed it, and other personal questions.

"As I did not want to be tied hard and fast as governor in advance, I declined Mr. Murphy's offer, saying that I was paying off my debts gradually; that my creditors were friends and would not press me; that I was economical, that I would try to get along on my salary as governor." Murphy said: "If you need money at any time, let me know, and you can have what you want. We cleaned up a lot of money on your campaign. I can afford to let you have what you want and never miss it."

In a published article, Gov. Sulzer also wrote this statement:

"I have been in office now for six months, and in that time I have learned enough to be able to say without fear of contradiction that in the past three years $50,000,000 of the people's money has been wasted or stolen."

Tammany Hall lost the next mayorality election, John Purroy Mitchell defeating the organization candidate, Edward E. McCall, and Charles S. Whitman, the Republican district attorney who had prosecuted Police Lieutenant Becker for the Rosenthal murder, was elected governor.

The Rosenthal murder rivaled any story of recent years for interest and columns were given to it in newspapers all over the country. The gambler was

shot in front of a hotel on Forty-third street near Broadway the day before he was to see District Attorney Whitman to make an exposure of the graft demands and methods of Police Lieutenant Becker. Becker, after two sensational trials, was convicted and with several gangsters, also convicted in the case, died in the electric chair for the murder.

Rosenthal and Becker had been partners in a gambling house but had quarreled when the former considered Becker's demands for protection too heavy.

Another aftermath of that murder was the Curran investigation into the Police Department with its disclosures of prostitution and graft. One witness testified that there were about 35,000 prostitutes in New York City and that practically all of them had to pay for protection.

Tammany Hall appeared to be in something of an eclipse during the administration of President Woodrow Wilson, for Wilson refused to recognize the Tammany organization, but its weight was felt at the Democratic National Convention in 1920 when Murphy held the wet delegates as a unit against William G. McAdoo until the break came when he switched them to James M. Cox, and the Ohioan was nominated.

Murphy died suddenly of acute indigestion on

April 25, 1924, only two months before the Democratic National Convention convened in Madison Square Garden for that memorable battle between Smith and McAdoo.

EVENTS OF 1928

CHAPTER X

SOME EVENTS OF 1928

TAMMANY HALL was, of course, somewhat demoralized by the sudden death of its leader on the eve of the hoped for nomination of New York's favorite son for the Presidency but the leaders organized as best they could, being aided by other leaders from other states and by many loyal admirers of Smith in the Empire State who, however, had no connection with Tammany.

The 1924 convention will perhaps never be forgotten for it came near to wrecking the Democratic party, so bitter became the feeling between followers of the two rival candidates—Smith and McAdoo. Who will ever forget the montonoy of those 103 long roll calls, little changed from the first to the last, and starting always with that shouted, rolling response of Gov. Brandon of Alabama, "Twenty-four votes for Oscar Underwood!"

It was Bryan's last appearance, for he died soon afterwards and his admirers in the Democracy of the nation probably will long remember the booing given the Commoner by the gallery when the fallen

idol sought to address the convention. Tammany itself would likely not want another Democratic National Convention held in New York City, so difficult it is to restrain the "plug-uglies" and "rowdy" proletariat.

Finally on the 103rd ballot, Smith and McAdoo gave way and John W. Davis was named the compromise candidate to go forth to a losing battle against Calvin Coolidge.

Tammany Hall had lost in the 1920 New York State election, and the stage was set for that tragic decision forced on Smith two years hence. The newly elected Republican legislature carried out its pledge to enact a state enforcement act to assist the Federal Volstead Act and it was signed by Gov. Nathan L. Miller who had defeated Smith. Again in 1922 Smith and Miller were opposing candidates for governor and this time Smith was the victor.

A few months later, Gov. Smith was presented with the famous Mullin-Gage repealer, which he finally signed.

Elected again in 1924 and still again in 1926, Gov. Smith met little opposition at the Houston convention of 1928 and was named the Democratic Presidential nominee on the first ballot.

The Governor broadened the official declaration of his nominating convention on the wet and dry

question very materially in the following telegram, accepting the nomination:

"The equal and even enforcement of the law is the cornerstone upon which rests the whole structure of democratic government. If it is the will of the people of this nation that I am to take an oath as President of the United States to protect and defend our Constitution and laws, I will execute that oath to the limit of my ability without reservation or evasion.

"It is well known that I believe there should be fundamental changes in the present provisions for National Prohibition, based, as I stated in my Jackson Day letter, on the fearless application to the problem of the principles of Jeffersonian democracy.

"While I fully appreciate that these changes can only be made by the people themselves through their elected legislative representatives, I feel it to be the duty of the chosen leader of the people to point the way which in his opinion leads to a sane, sensible solution of a condition which I am convinced is entirely unsatisfactory to the great mass of our people.

Common honesty compels us to admit that corruption of law enforcement officials, bootlegging and lawlessness are now prevalent throughout this country.

I am satisfied that without returning to the old

evils that grew from the saloon, which years ago I held, and still hold, was and ought always to be a defunct institution in this country, by application of the democratic principles of local self-government and states' rights, we can secure real temperance, respect for law and eradication of the existing evils."

Gov. Smith is the third member of Tammany Hall to be a candidate for President of the United States, although a fourth, Aaron Burr, sought to gain this high office by intrigue in 1801. Burr, it will be remembered, was on the Democratic ticket with Thomas Jefferson that year and received the same number of electoral votes as did Jefferson, although it was well understood that the people were voting for Burr for Vice-President. The election was thrown into the House of Representatives by the tie vote and Burr sought to contest the Presidency with Jefferson. Public opinion, however, compelled his withdrawal.

Both the other Tammany candidates for President, were, like Alfred E. Smith, governors of New York. The first was Horatio Seymour, who ran against Gen. Grant in 1868—the year the agencies of Tammany naturalized so many aliens in New York through fraudulent means.

The second official candidate was Samuel Jones Tilden, who lost to Rutherford B. Hayes in the famous Electoral College contest of 1877. Tilden,

however, was not put forward by Tammany, for he had fought the organization prior to his nomination.

The question of party regularity, which confronted the Republicans when Roosevelt led the Bull Moosers, has been raised in a different form by the nomination of a Tammany Hall member for President. The South, especially, is upset. Some of the party leaders have balked at assisting "the Tiger into the White House." Others have praised Smith for his personal honesty and decided to support him.

Gov. Smith in an address at the annual Tammany Society celebration of Independence Day, July 4, 1928, defended the history of Tammany and asked:

"Can anything live in this country 139 years that is not all right?"

The following editorial appeared in the New York *Herald-Tribune* July 5, 1928:

"It was fitting that Governor Smith should make his first speech as a candidate for the Presidency in Tammany Hall. He learned his political trade in Fourteenth Street. He made his way upward—from ward heeler to Governor—as part of the Tammany machine. All his progress has been based on Tammany support. It was this corrupt and contented political machine which set out four years ago to nominate Mr. Smith for the Presidency and which last week achieved its goal at Houston. The Gov-

ernor could scarcely turn his back on the organization which made his political success possible.

It was also fitting that the speech which the Governor delivered in the Hall should represent the Governor at his worst. His high school eloquence in praise of Tammany suited the occasion. It was what the braves had assembled to hear.

But it was a sorry exhibition for a Presidential candidate, and the whole episode cannot fail to make the judicious friends of the Governor grieve. If anything were needed to make his intimate bonds with Tammany incontrovertibly clear, this appearance should do it. As a matter of plain fact, there can be no serious question of that intimacy. The Governor has in recent years chosen a number of advisers who were not of Tammany. He is still on the closest of terms with the leaders of the Hall —is, in fact, in a very real sense, its true chief. At Albany he has given Tammany what it wanted in jobs, in legislation, in the lavish expenditure of public money. The Governor's sound policies of governmental reform, advanced with ability and courage, cannot conceal the fact that in many essentials of administration he has been a Tammany Governor. Whether it was a question of voting machines that would reduce Tammany corruption at the polls, or of investigations that threatened to reveal Tam-

many graft, the Governor has been anything but a Happy Warrior on the side of right.

"Rather has he been, in these items, a Tammany 'good fellow.' He has gone along with his crowd. Standing head and shoulders above his organization in ability and in morality, he has, nevertheless, made no effort to reform it. To the contrary, he has accepted Tammany for what it always has been and apparently—judging by the recent revelations of wholesale graft—always will be.

Loyalty is a fine trait. Governor Smith possesses it along with other attractive qualities. But loyalty to a corrupt political machine seems to us about as poor a qualification for the Presidency of the United States as could be named."

George W. Olvany, successor to Murphy as chief of the wigwam, testified under oath at a recent hearing of the United States Senate Committee on Campaign Expenditures, that Tammany, of course, had nothing to do with campaign funds as the Society was "purely a benevolent and charitable organization."

Without dwelling at length on current questions, for the newspapers are daily filled with politics, there are printed below excerpts from a few representative newspapers, commenting on Tammany Hall entering national politics.

The record of Tammany, in Presidential cam-

paigns, is certainly far from being free of charges of irregularity.

An editorial in the New York *Herald-Tribune,* discussing the refusal of former United States Senator Robert L. Owen of Oklahoma, a life-long Democrat, to support Gov. Smith for the Presidency because of the latter's Tammany affiliations, says:

"Tammany is an ancient institution. It has not hidden its light under a bushel. It is known nationally as well as locally. The Tiger of Nast's cartoons has never changed its stripes. The philosophy and psychology of the Hall are what they were when Tweed ruled the magnificently disciplined association for personal exploitation in the field of politics.

"Having long dominated this city and established itself also in this (New York) state, Tammany is now seeking to capture the Presidency. Such an effort creates a nation-wide issue of the first importance. It may be said that the other members of Tammany Hall have been candidates for President. Samuel J. Tilden, ambitious and astute, was for a time a Tammany man. But he left the Hall and fought it. He was a Presidential nominee at a time when it was in temporary eclipse. Governor Smith, on the contrary, is its candidate when it is at the height of its power and influence. Tammany opposed Tilden. It opposed Cleveland. It is now giving Smith its united and enthusiastic support."

Again this same newspaper, referring to the predicament of many Southern Democrats, who desire to continue in the party but decline to vote for a Tammany Hall candidate for the Presidency, says:

"Is this iron-clad regularity to be maintained in the Southern states, both by law and public opinion, when it no longer exists elsewhere? Northern Democrats vote as they please at Presidential and other elections. Tammany has cut many Presidential candidates. To go back no farther than 1924, John W. Davis received 489,172 votes in this city, while Governor Smith received 936,941. In 1920 James M. Cox received 345,636, while Governor Smith received 709,736. Four years ago Senator Wheeler, of Montana, a Democrat, bolted the Davis-Bryan ticket and ran for Vice-President on the La Follette Progressive-Socialist ticket. He was not even disciplined by his Democratic colleagues in the Senate and he has just been renominated for Senator in the Montana Democratic primary.

"Why should the South be the only section of the country in which a Democrat has to vote the ticket blindly, against his judgment and even in violation of his sense of public duty? The South votes for a label and is generally satisfied to do so. But this year thousands of leading citizens in the South, men and women, consider Governor Smith a pseudo Democrat, a candidate who, by amending the na-

tional platform, has broken faith with the nominating convention. They distrust Tammany and would view with horror an extension of Tammany rule to Washington. Are they not entitled to express their convictions as citizens without being charged with disloyalty to the tent of Southern solidarity? Solidarity cannot stand the test of a Tammany alliance."

Dr. Daniel A. Poling, minister of the Marble Collegiate Dutch Reformed Church in New York and president of the International Society of Christian Endeavor, has this to say of Tammany's projection into national politics in an editorial which appeared in *Christian Herald:*

"The four great figures of the Democratic party since the Civil War are Tilden, Cleveland, Wilson and Bryan. What was the attitude of Tammany toward these? Tammany was against every one of the four. Now Tammany calls upon the Democracy of Tilden, Cleveland, Wilson and Bryan to put a Sachem of the Hall into the White House.

"Would the election of Tammany's candidate be the election of the Democratic party? Which Democratic party? Who fought Tilden? Who villified Cleveland? Who opposed Wilson? Who betrayed Bryan?

"It is the 'Tiger' that knocks at the door of the White House."

Tammany Hall in 1928 is completely in the sad-

dle in both city and state and it is ably represented in both branches of Congress. Senators Robert F. Wagner and Royal Copeland both are loyal Tammany men and, of course, the Democratic congressional districts in the city have Tammany men in the lower House.

And what of conditions in New York to-day? A report by the Committee of Fourteen, organized in 1905 to secure the suppression of the disorderly resorts known as "Raines Law hotels" issued its annual report covering 1927 on July 7, 1928 and pronounced vice conditions in the city worse than they were twenty years ago.

A city-wide inquiry into alleged irregularities in the Street Cleaning Department is under way as the result of disclosures of graft in the Bronx, where several city employees have testified to cashing numerous checks made out to "dummy" names. Payroll padding is an old story in New York City, as it is, too, in several other of America's large cities.

The report of the Committee of Fourteen made no charges against the City Administration, but it is worthy of note that while city officials evinced no haste to proceed against the night clubs and speak-easies, federal authorities swooped down upon the city and obtained evidence against some 200 of them. A government dry agent disclosed in official affidavits that more than $10,000 was spent for

champagne and other liquors in assembling data for presentation to the federal grand jury.

The Committee of Fourteen is composed of prominent citizens of New York, with Dr. James Pedersen as Chairman, Edward J. McGuire and Percy S. Straus as vice-chairmen and George E. Worthington as general secretary and counsel. Their investigators visited 157 night clubs and speak-easies and reported that only six of them were found to be respectable. Six others were considered suspicious but the investigators obtained no evidence. One hundred and thirty-two of the clubs investigated were identified with prostitution.

"The hostesses of the night club and speak-easy is the American counterpart of the Geisha girl," says the committee's report. "She is employed for the main purpose of increasing the sales of liquor, food and other drinks; incidentally she is to provide esthetic, social and sexual entertainment for the men customers.

"Her sex appeal largely accounts for her success. She is the successor of the old-time rustler who worked in bars on a commission basis many years ago. She was divorced from the saloon business long before the Volstead act went into effect. That was one of the chief accomplishments of the Committee in its early days.

"The speak-easies and night clubs are now too

FOR DEMOCRATIC SALVATION

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July 24, 1928. Courtesy of New York *Herald-Tribune*.

numerous to succeed from the sale of liquor without the added attraction of 'hostesses.' Their use in these places did not become general until the last two or three years. The greatest demand appeared in the Fall of 1927 when agencies and clubs became bold enough to advertise for recruits. So far as is known the only paper to accept these advertisements is one daily tabloid.

"These advertisements have had the result of drawing not only local girls into this occupation, but also girls from outside places in various parts of the United States.

"Other hostesses are recruited from 'closed' dance halls which in turn advertise extensively for 'young, attractive girls over 18, experience unnecessary.' Still others are known to have been inmates of houses in Albany, Troy, Detroit and other cities still tolerating such resorts. The various stages of their subsequent life will be described in the special study of night clubs and speak-easies made possible by the liberal coöperation of the Bureau of Social Hygiene. This study is nearing completion and will be published separately.

"It is believed that the night club and speak-easy have been directly responsible for a marked increase in the volume of vice. This is especially true, because they provide a place for operations. No similar places have existed since the days of the

Raines law hotel and the saloon with back rooms. The Committee of Fourteen, with the assistance of the Brewers' Board of Trade, the bonding companies and the Police Department, completely suppressed the Raines law hotels long before the Federal Prohibition Act was passed. The coöperation which previously existed with the brewers and bonding companies is, of course, impossible now. The police and the committee must face the problem without these important auxiliaries.

"The committee feels that the speak-easy club situation is in some respects as serious if not more so than, the Raines-law hotel which called the committee into existence nearly a quarter of a century ago. For one thing, they are attracting young men and young women of a class who never would have visited the old-time Raines-law hotel. Some of these 'clubs' are cloaked with an apparent respectability which is likely to throw the unsophisticated off their guard. The saloons or the Raines-law hotels never catered to young persons of that class, and yet in later years were not permitted to go to such lengths. This is a matter for the people of New York to consider most seriously."

The committee charged that conditions in the closed dance halls where the men customers must purchase tickets for each dance, "is a growing and

serious menace; it is here that the largest number of girls get their first start.

"A new cloak has been found in the private dance studio where the so-called 'instructress' takes the seeker for instructing into a private room and locks the door. It is difficult to find a legitimate reason for instruction so strictly private as this; on the other hand, in six of these places which were investigated by our men they were invariably solicited by the so-called 'instructress.' The success of these 'dance studios' apparently is almost immediate, as the number of their advertisements in the same afternoon tabloid which advertises for hostesses for night clubs, jumped from 8 to 23 in a comparatively short time."

Police Commissioner Warren, head of the New York police, on being interviewed on the report of the Committee of Fourteen, said that conditions were not as bad as stated.

Secretary Worthington of the Committee replied that conditions were as stated in the Report.

An idea as to the magnitude of the job confronting authorities in attempting to "dry up" New York City is shown in the following news story from the New York *Herald Tribune* of August 4, 1928:

"There was evidence yesterday that in conjunction with their major attack against the liquor traffic in the more elaborate of the city's night clubs, the

Federal prohibition authorities have been quietly taking the measure of the common garden variety of speak-easies that dot the town. It was manifest also that the government forces have begun to expand their drying-up operations on a large scale into the suburbs, having already swept many road houses and suspicious hotels into their net.

"The prosecuting officials have no illusions about the nature of the job before them, realizing, they said, that they had at least 20,000 of the up and down stairs type of 'blind tigers' to rout out in this city alone. Even at the rate of 100 catches a month, barring new ones that are always bobbing up, it would take them twenty years to dry up the town."

Conditions are even worse under the new Tammany than the old Tammany, said the New York *Herald-Tribune* on July 3, 1928.

POLICE!

"The *Herald-Tribune* applauded Mayor Walker's selection of George McLaughlin as Police Commissioner. Its confidence in him was fully justified. He took office at a time when criminal gangs had brought about a reign of terror. Within a year he had broken up the worst of them and put the fear of the law into those which still remained in the city. When Mr. McLaughlin retired this newspaper pledged its support to his successor, Mr.

THE NEW GOLD RUSH

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July 31, 1928. Courtesy of New York *Herald-Tribune*.

Warren. The battle to rid the city of the army of criminals which had occupied it during the eight preceding years was of far more importance than any local political considerations. Under Mr. Warren the personnel of the Police Department was further increased, and with general public approval. Crime was apparently on the wane. The worst gangs had been broken up. The residents of this city, reading of the reign of terror in Chicago, congratulated themselves that police efficiency had rendered impossible such a state of affairs here.

"But within the last few months the situation has changed. Gang murders have become bolder and much more frequent. Two weeks ago a supposed opium peddler was shot as he rode in his automobile in broad daylight through one of the most crowded sections of the city. The chief of the detective division of the Police Department, Inspector Coughlin, called his subordinates on the carpet and informed them that they must run down this murder or suffer the consequences. He told them that there was no excuse for their lack of information about the gangs of narcotic peddlers infesting the city and indulging openly in their private quarrels.

"Two weeks later, Sunday, July 1, Frank Uale, a gang leader who for a time had operated in Chicago, was shot as he rode in his car in the homestead section of Brooklyn by rival gangsters; a former boot-

legger, Benjamin Kanowitz, was blown to pieces by a bomb which had been attached to the self-starter of his car, parked in front of his house in West 171st Street, and Frank Bucalo, of 243 Himrod Street, Brooklyn, was shot to death by masked men who found him in his barber shop.

"If New York is not to be subjected to such a reign of terror as that which imperiled public safety in Chicago a few months ago, there must be a complete reorganization of the police force. The underworld, with its population of bootleggers, narcotic peddlers and criminals of all sorts, could not any more prevail against an efficient police than it has prevailed in Chicago since a public uprising demanded that it be put out of business. New York City must not be made a refuge for the crooks who have been driven out of Chicago. In the worst days of the Old Tammany, life and property were safer than in these days of the New Tammany, and at a time when, if ever, Tammany ought to be on its good behavior."

In closing this curtailed story of Tammany, we will quote the editorial in the New York *Herald-Tribune* of August 2, 1928:

"GRAFT TRAILS FRESH EVERY DAY

"While Commissioner Higgins, having discovered practically limitless graft in the Street Cleaning De-

partment, is seeking to find out if bribery also figures in the dumping of refuse from the city piers, it develops that 2,874 gallons of the city's gas supply has disappeared from two city yards in the last six months and a half. At the same time the charge has been brought that a contract of $100,000 has been awarded without bids to repair the Boyd's Corner Dam, which is a part of the water supply system, on the ground that the condition of the dam is such as to endanger property in the vicinity. This departure from the practice of asking bids for all city work is based on the assertion that an emergency exists. But 'The New York World,' friendly to Tammany and the author of the charges, can find no such emergency. The work is indeed going forward, but residents of the district maintain that they are not in the slightest fear of an inundation because of the weakness of the dam.

"Since the uncovering of the sewer scandal in Queens, charges of graft have cropped up faster than they could be investigated. The Higgins inquiry into the conduct of the Street Cleaning Department is continually uncovering new trails before it can follow the old ones to their sources. When, if ever, these have all been run down, there promises to be enough work in other directions to outlast the lifetime of the present city administration. In its national campaign the organization which brought

forward Governor Smith as a Presidential candidate is insisting that it is now a new and purified Tammany, which has abandoned the old ways and become the embodiment of civic righteousness. Perhaps it will persuade some people to believe this, but not if they are newspaper readers who keep up with what is going on in New York City."

Here our chronicle ends.

If the reader desires further information on the subject, there are other excellent works to refer to.

First, the extensive New York State Legislative Reports of the Lexow, Mazet and Curran Committees, quoted in this work. They are usually found in the Public Libraries of the larger cities.

The following works will give a large number of additional facts from the records and altogether give about as complete a history as it is possible to obtain:

"The History of Tammany Hall," by Gustavus Meyers.

"Thirty Years of New York Politics," by Martin P. Breen.

"Tammany Hall," by M. R. Werner. Published by Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc.

FUNNY HOW JUST SMELLING THE CORK WILL AFFECT SOME FOLKS

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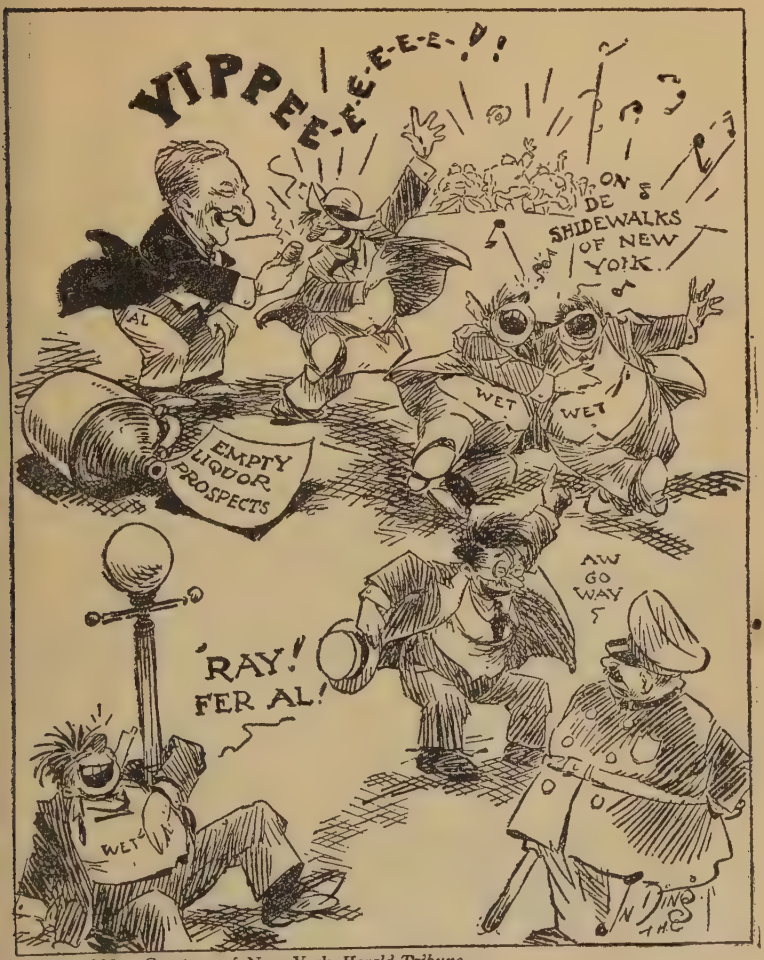

Aug. 1, 1928. Courtesy of New York *Herald-Tribune.*

THE DECOY

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WHAT HE NEEDS IS A DOCTOR, NOT BOUQUETS

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STILL USING HIS OWN PERSONAL DECOYS

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